





**CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.**  
**VOLUME V.**

**BENGAL AND SIKKIM.**

**PART III.**  
**ADMINISTRATIVE VOLUME**

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**CALCUTTA :**  
**BENGAL SECRETARIAT PRESS.**  
1923.







CENSUS REPORT  
ON  
BENGAL AND SIKKIM,  
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ADMINISTRATIVE VOLUME.

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CHAPTER I.

The taking of the Census.

1. This volume deals with the census procedure used in the Province of Bengal as constituted in 1921 and the State of Sikkim. The procedure adopted for the census of Calcutta City and its Suburbs is dealt with in another volume. The account is written largely with the Census of 1931 in view, and its main object is to enable the Officers who will carry it out to make use of the experience of the present occasion. The instructions issued in connection with the census, with the exception of a few on procedure along side-lines not woven into the main web of the operation, were embodied in a Census Code in two parts, Part I—Enumeration, and Part II—Tabulation and Compilation. Frequent references will be made to this Code in the Report which follows. It was the *vade mecum* of every officer who shared in the responsibility for the progress of the operation. Based on the Imperial Census Code, and more closely, especially in its arrangement and wording, on the Bengal Census Code of 1911, and indeed with but few alterations of the latter which had not been suggested by my predecessor in his Administrative Report or ordered by the Census Commissioner, it stood the test of practical use excellently. Though thousands of persons referred to it for guidance, and among them many of the type that appears to go out of its way to misunderstand, the report from districts point to very few defects in it and no inconsistencies. It has been steadily improved during the experience of six census operations and my successor in 1931 can safely accept it even in minor details as a sure basis for his arrangements for the next census.

**A.—The Census Mauza Register.**

2. **What the Census Mauza Register was.**—As a preliminary to the arrangements for a census it is necessary to take stock and prepare a register which shall account for all the inhabited area in the Province. To this end the Census Mauza Register was prepared for each district. The form adopted was that proposed by the Provincial Superintendent of the Census of 1911. Formerly the register was called the General Village Register. The word village in its ordinarily understood sense is, however, inapplicable to rural Bengal. It gives the idea of a collection of houses occupied by the



In Darjeeling District and the Chittagong Hill Tracts where there has been no Revenue Survey it was necessary that the Register should be no more than a register of inhabited hamlets.

3. **How it was prepared.**—The Register was to be opened in duplicate for each thana, columns 1 and 2 being filled up from the thana jurisdiction lists or from Chaukidari Union Register No. 1 when this had been prepared as the basis of the latest jurisdiction lists. Stress was laid on the point that the latest lists and maps only were to be used, but in one district, Rajshahi, for which the Settlement Department had only two years before published complete new lists, an old Chaukidari Register was used and the whole register had to be re-written as late as July 1920. In one of the duplicate registers column 3 was to be filled up from the Chaukidari Union Register No. 1 or from the General Village Register of the last census, while the other duplicate was to be sent to circle officers or thana officers for column 3 to be filled up independently by them. The two were afterwards to be compared and discrepancies reconciled, if necessary, after local enquiry. In point of fact in nearly half the districts in the Province the instructions regarding this procedure were ignored. Originally one copy of the register was prepared, columns 1, 2, and 3 filled up and the copy sent out to the thana officer. Thus the latter was left alone with the responsibility for the correctness of the entries in column 3. The instructions issued required the register to be completed by the end of March 1920, but in most districts it was not completed until May, and in the 24 Parganas and one or two more it was not touched till that month.

4. **The entries in column 3 of little value.**—The heading of column 3, names of *arām*, *ghāts*, *bizārs* within each *mauza* did not prove suitable. Thana officers took pains to enter all *hāts* whether there were any houses at the place or not, and all *ghāts*, whether they were places at which many boats lay or not, and paid less attention to entering the names by which parts of *mauzas* sometimes go and which are commonly known in Bengal as *pirās*. A few decades ago when the pressure of the population on the soil was not what it is to-day, it was common to find that new hamlets had appeared between one census and the next. This no longer the case in Bengal except on new alluvial formations. The *mauza* system has crystallized so that it divides the whole area into well recognised divisions and subdivisions; the hamlets within the *mauza* have lost their importance, and reference to them merely adds complications to a perfectly recognised system. The object of the Census Mauza Register is to account for the whole occupied area and this can be done satisfactorily without reference to hamlets within the *mauza*. These remarks apply most particularly to districts where there has been a record-of-rights. In 1901 the Settlement Department had only begun work in Bengal. By 1931 it will have completed the record-of-rights for most of the Province. The vague limits of hamlets within the *mauza* were found moreover of little or no use as guides to the formation of blocks.

5. **Preliminary estimate of houses misleading.**—The estimate of the number of houses given in column 4 was obtained from the *panchayats* or the *chaukidars* and was very inaccurate, erring much more on the side of underestimation than of overestimation. It was based largely on the *panchayats'* assessment rolls or their knowledge of the number of families assessed to Chaukidari Tax. The *chaukidari* assessment roll should, according to rule, show the names of all householders whether taxed or not, but commonly it does not include those who are considered too poor to bear a tax and there other omissions besides. The Superintendent of Census does not base his calculations of the number of forms he will require on this estimate of the number of houses. He has to make them before the estimate is completed. The District Census Officer may compare the estimate with the number of houses actually counted ten years previously and may realize that the new estimate is much too low, but the Charge Superintendents and Supervisors do not realize it, and the fact of its being so results their forming blocks and circles which are too large and having to form more blocks later. At each successive census the first estimate of the number of houses has proved



inaccurate. In Mymensingh district on the present occasion it was proved less than 80 per cent. of the true number. The procedure of obtaining such a preliminary estimate of the number of houses dates back to 1872. Rural conditions in those days were far different from those of to-day. The official correspondence of 70 years ago contains frequent references to *rai-yats* giving up their lands and migrating to other *parganas* under different landlords. Nowadays, one of the most noticeable characteristics of the Bengali cultivator is his affection for his father's land and homestead. It is only in the last stages of disaster to his domestic economy that a cultivator leaves it and goes elsewhere. Consequently the number of houses in any locality now changes very slowly, and such change as takes place is a very regular change corresponding to the steady increase of population. Such a calamity as the influenza epidemic tends rather to reduce the average number of persons to a house than the number of houses. The conclusion is that it is better not to attempt a preliminary estimate of the number of houses at all, but to rely on the figures for the number of houses actually counted ten-years previously.

6. **The advantages of following union boundaries.**—There were distinct advantages in preparing the Census Mauza Register union by union when it was possible to do so rather than in following the order in the jurisdiction lists. The thana officer usually relied on the *panchayat* for information regarding the number of houses and the persons suitable to be employed as supervisors and enumerators, and found it easier to enter the information in the register when all the *mauzas* of a union were placed together than when there were *mauzas* of other unions interspersed with them. Circles were subsequently formed on the basis of the grouping of *mauzas* by unions and the preparation of the Charge Register showing the distribution of the *mauzas* by circles for census purposes became much less difficult. Whether the arrangement could be followed without disaster depended upon the state of the Chaukidari Union Register No. 1. There is a form prescribed for this register by the Board of Revenue intended to show all the *mauzas* within each union with their numbers in the Thana Jurisdiction Lists and the figures for the number of houses according to the last census. Obviously this register cannot be made use of when the jurisdiction lists have been revised since it was written up, and as they are revised when a district comes within the operations of the Settlement Department it was found that in most districts where there had been a record-of-rights prepared within the decade, the Census Mauza Register could not be written up from the Union Register. The state of this Register in different districts varies considerably. Generally speaking it is far better in Eastern Bengal than in Western Bengal. In Noakhali not only was it written up carefully after the Census of 1911 and the number of houses entered in the column for the purpose, but columns have been added each year since to give the number of houses according to the Panchayats' returns. This gives a means of checking at once the completeness or otherwise of the assessment rolls, but produces an up-to-date record of the number of houses which is less accurate an estimate than is got by assuming that the number has not changed since the census. In most Eastern Bengal districts the Register was once carefully written up, but in most it needs re-writing again since the jurisdiction lists in all but Chittagong have been revised by the Settlement Department within recent years. In most Western Bengal districts the Union Register is in hopeless confusion. In Northern Bengal the condition of the Register varies. In Rangpur it was carefully prepared after the last census and printed. At the other extreme in Dinajpur there is no authenticated Union Register at all. The Collectorate Office has succeeded in shirking its preparation in the Board's prescribed form altogether. With the extension of the Village Self-Government Act the Union Register becomes the more important. For many more purposes than the convenience of the census of 1931 it is advisable that it should be written up and the figures for the number of houses and population entered in it from the Mauza Tables of this census. While the census tabulation was in progress the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division asked that arrangements might be made by which clerks sent from the collectorates should collect figures for the population of

each Union before tabulation was complete. In reply the condition of the Union Registers of the Burdwan Division was pointed out to him and it was suggested that it was far better to make use of the time, during which the Census Mauza Tables were being prepared, in rewriting the first three columns of the Union Register correctly, than in preparing what must be an incomplete record of the population Union by Union, the existence of which might afterwards be made an excuse for not preparing the Union Register in a complete form at all. The Rangpur plan of having the Union Register printed is very well worth consideration, for it gets over the difficulty so often felt from there being no copy of the register except the original in the Collectorate office. The thana officers and circle officers could then have copies and extra ones would be available for the Union Boards, Local Boards and District Boards all of whom would find them useful. Spare copies, too, would be very useful at the time of the Census of 1931.

7. **Suggested form of Census Mauza Register for 1931.**—Government decided that on the present occasion it was unnecessary to give figures for parts of *mauzas* in the Final *Mauza Tables*. The experience of this census has shown that it is of no advantage to treat the *párás* within a *mauza* as separate units in forming Census Divisions. *Párás* with recognised names only exist in a small percentage even of the largest *mauzas* and their boundaries are very indefinite. No attempt was made to use the information given in column 3 of the Mauza Register in most districts, and it would be advantageous to omit the column in the preliminary register for the Census of 1931. It causes a great deal of trouble to have it filled up where the work is carefully done, and there is no commensurate advantage gained. It would be useful to have separate columns in the register for the addresses of persons suitable for employment as Supervisors and the form of Census Mauza Register which would be most suitable for the next census would, I conclude, be as follows:—

Serial Number of Mauza.	Jurisdiction List number.	Mauza name.	Number of houses according to Census of 1921.	Name of persons suitable to be Supervisors.	Address.	Name of persons suitable to be Enumerators.	Address.	REMARKS.

The register need not be prepared in duplicate. The first four columns will be filled up direct from the Union Register if the latter is found to be up to date and in order. The orders which are issued in this matter should require the Collector of the district personally to look into the matter, examine the Union Registers and jurisdiction lists and pass orders whether the Union Register is to be used, or the Census Mauza Register prepared for the jurisdiction lists and column 4 filled up direct from the Final *Mauza Tables* of this census. After he has passed this order it is a mechanical process to carry it out. The Census Mauza Register with the first four columns filled up should be placed in the hands of thana officers, or in the hands of circle officers if they can spare the time to deal with it, by the end of February and they should require of the Union Boards or Chaukidari Panchayats and fill up columns 5, 6, 7 and 8 giving the name of an Enumerator for every 40 houses and a Supervisor for every 10 enumerators. The Supervisor should, where possible, be a member of the Union Board. If the Government's orders are received early it will give time for revision of Union Registers which have not been touched for some time.

As at this census it will be useful to have a separate Register for municipal areas in which the first four columns would be (1) Name or Number of Ward or Circle, (2) Name of Mahalla, Street or other Municipal unit, (3) Number of premises assessed, (4) Number of houses by present estimate, and the remaining

columns as in the register for rural areas. It will prove useful to have a fresh estimate of the number of houses in municipalities. Column 3 will be useful both to check the entries in column 4 and to assist in deciding what use, if any, shall be made of the municipal premises and the numbers they bear when house-numbering for census purposes is taken up.

### B.—Formation of Census Divisions.

8. For census purposes a district is divided successively into charges, circles and blocks; the final division leaving each unit of such a size that one enumerator will be able to do the round of the houses in it between 7 P.M. and midnight on the final census night. Bengali equivalents for charge, circle, and block were introduced into the Census Code and the forms used, but it would have been better not to introduce them for the English terms are readily understood, and, in the fashion of Bengal, were habitually used by all whether they knew English or not. The charge was usually the police *thana* in rural areas, urban areas forming separate charges, but it was divided into two or more when the number of houses likely to be found in it exceeded some 12,000. According to the instructions issued, circles were formed, to be divided subsequently into blocks, rather than blocks formed and grouped together afterwards in circles. The division into circles was usually based on the division of the *thana* into unions. In the future more than ever will it be valuable to adopt such an arrangement. A circle was to contain from 400 to 600 houses and it was commonly found that in order that this might be so a *Chaukidari* Union of moderate size had to be divided into two circles and a larger one into three. A circle having been formed, it is at this stage unnecessary to do more than decide how many blocks are likely to be formed in each *mauza*. It is not possible to define the limits of the blocks accurately until the stage of house-numbering is reached. The division by circles was marked upon 1-inch *thana* maps and the Charge Register written up in duplicate, circle by circle. One copy formed the Circle Register and was prepared for the Supervisor while the other remained with the Charge Superintendent. Circle maps were also supplied to the Supervisors, prepared by cutting up a *thana* map along the lines of circle boundaries and pasting the portions one for each circle on plain paper. There has been a consensus of opinion among District Census Officers that these circle maps were of very little use. They can, however, be prepared very easily and if in one or two instances only in a district they lead to the detection of areas omitted they will have served their purpose. The circles having been marked with a coloured pencil on a *thana* map it is very easy to prepare a duplicate for cutting up, by placing a clean map over the marked one against a window-pane and going over the coloured lines with a coloured pencil as they show through.

### C.—Selection and Appointment of Census Officers.

9. **The District Census Officer.**—In each district a Deputy Collector was selected and appointed in June 1920 to be in general charge of the census operations in the district. It was essential that he should be an officer who could tour freely and his name was reported to Government with a view to his being left in the district till the census was over. In no case in Bengal did the District Officer himself undertake the direct supervision of census operations, although many District Officers took a great deal of interest in what was being done and made a point of inspecting the arrangements which had been made in the areas to which their tours took them. The District Census Officers appointed were men of varying capacity and energy and the whole proceedings in the district closely reflected their characters. The District Census Officer should not be *Sadar* Subdivisional Officer as he was in Dacca. The Census Code did not define the position of the Subdivisional Officer in regard to census work. When the District Magistrate was in close touch

with what was being done he defined this at an early stage, but in some districts where this was not done difficulties cropped up. The District Census Officer is the officer with whom the Provincial Superintendent corresponds and to whom he sends instructions for dissemination and forms for distribution and use. How far he is able to maintain the responsibility for arranging the formation of census divisions, selection of Census Officers and instruction in procedure in subdivisions depends very much on the nature of the district. The Subdivisional Officers must help him out in large districts and especially in districts where communications are not easy during the rains, when preliminary arrangements for the census have to be completed. I would suggest for the benefit of my successor in 1931 that in addressing District Magistrates requesting them to select an officer to be District Census Officer he should also request them to indicate what they propose shall be the relationship between the District Census Officer and the Subdivisional Officers, and in what manner the responsibility for census work in the subdivisions shall be divided between them. In any case it is important that the District Census Officer shall meet the Subdivisional Officers from time to time even if the latter have been given the major part of the responsibility.

10. **The Charge Superintendent.**—All the changes which have taken place in the last half century in this country have left the thanadar the only officer of Government in rural areas in many parts of the Province who has sufficient influence and sufficient means at his disposal adequately to fill such post as that of Census Charge Superintendent. There are now, however, other officers in some parts whose services can be used and at this census an effort was made to use them, mainly with the object of relieving the police of as much as possible of the arduous duty which the census throws upon them. Thus the instructions of the Census Code provided that the services of police officers were not to be used in towns, and in rural areas where a thana was so large that it had to be divided into two or more charges, an effort was made to employ an officer of some other department in charge of one of the divisions. Sometimes it was a Sub-Inspector of Schools, sometimes a Sub-Inspector of Excise or a Khas Mahal Sub-Tahsildar. In a few instances Officers of the Court of Wards and the Agricultural Department were roped in and in one instance an Auditor of Co-operative Credit Societies. In almost every case in which they were employed these men worked willingly and well. I would have had more such employed but some District Census Officers did not like the experiment, realizing that in rural Bengal there is still no one else with the "dakhil" of the thanadar. This is true. When officers of other departments were employed it was necessary to depend largely on the thana as the distributing centre for forms and the like. In a few instances Circle Officers were employed, but it was usually found that their hands were too full, and considered better to depute them as inspecting officers over several charges than to attempt to tie them down to the responsibility of a single charge. Sub-Inspectors of Schools were able to utilize the services of school masters as Supervisors and their boys as enumerators, and it was found that masters of High English Schools did not work willingly under the supervision of the Thana Officers although masters of lower grade schools did not object to being under the police. There were in some places, particularly in Burdwan, elements of jealousy between the members of newly formed Union Boards and the thana officers. Whether such jealousy will increase as time goes on or whether it is only a symptom of the present state of political unrest, the future will decide. The Circle Officer will, in future, be the natural superior to choose if the Union Boards are given a definite share in the responsibility for the census, and in 1931 as many of them as possible should be employed. In this connection I would urge that as far as possible the dates for elections to Local Governing Bodies should be so arranged that they do not come near the time of the census. Coming after the elections to the Legislative Councils and nearer to the actual census day the elections to Local Boards on this occasion interfered very much with census arrangements by taking up much of the time of officers who were also doing census work.

11. **Supervisors and enumerators.**—In rural areas in spite of the rise in prices which had taken place during recent years, which has hit the small

middleman in the land system very hard, there is still a large leisured class. The joint family system is still unbroken and it very commonly happens that while some members of a middle class family are employed in service or in business away from home, other members remain in the ancestral homestead doing practically nothing though nominally looking after the small ancestral property. To them it is a task full of interest and amusement to undertake the enumeration of their co-villagers among whom they have lived all their lives, whether they are men with whom they are on terms of friendly intimacy or whom party faction has made their deadly enemies after the fashion of rural life. It is therefore still easy to recruit supervisors and enumerators in the country. In the towns it is different and the difference is very marked when the neighbourhood of Calcutta is reached. In rural areas both supervisors and enumerators grumbled at having to spend a few pice on materials for painting numbers on houses and plain paper for preparing draft schedules, but it was comparatively very few whose grumblings were signs of real discontent. In some parts of most districts, especially towards the end of 1920 when "Non-Co-operation" began to be preached in towns and advertised in vernacular newspapers, enumerators here and there began to throw up their jobs. Threats of prosecution were effective in some instances and in others prosecutions were set on foot. The common result of these cases was that they were withdrawn at the accused going back willingly to his work. There were 64 prosecutions of this sort in Bakarganj all of which were withdrawn and 28 in Pabna. Students were sometimes offenders in this matter, they were not ordinarily prosecuted but merely replaced by more reliable persons.

The census is a matter in which Local Governing Bodies are necessarily interested. The principle that municipalities shall be responsible in a large measure for their own census is already recognized. In Bengal every municipality meets the cost of the census within its limits. The only exception is Calcutta for the Census of which Government pays half the cost. By 1931 the Union Boards formed under the Village Self-Government Act in Bengal will have found their feet. In all their activities the numbers and classes of the population over which their authority extends are matters which require to be considered. A direct connection with the work of enumeration and a share in the responsibility for it will give the members a more intimate knowledge of the population under the jurisdiction of the Boards than they could otherwise obtain. To make the Union Boards responsible would incidentally afford a solution to the present difficulty of meeting claims for petty charges for coal tar, ink and the like which enumerators make. To distribute such a large number of such very small sums from the district headquarters would cost in accounts, correspondence and trouble more than the actual expenses themselves, and moreover there would be a very great risk that they would never reach those for whom they were intended. It would not be difficult, however, when each Union formed one or two circles with members of the Board as Supervisors, for these petty charges regarding which there was much discontent among enumerators to be met from Union Funds. They would not cost each Union as much as Rs. 5. The smallest municipalities under present arrangements are responsible for the costs of enumeration (except the cost of forms), but are not required to pay for compilation and tabulation as the larger ones are. The same arrangement might, by similar notification to that issued in the case of municipalities, be extended to Union Boards.

If in 1931 the Union Boards undertake the responsibility of meeting these petty charges and if printed schedules are more freely distributed for use in preparing a draft record, there is no reason whatever for any payment of enumerators in rural areas. The case is somewhat different in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and in the City itself. In Calcutta I am of opinion that either some small fee should be paid to enumerators or at least their expenses should be paid at a liberal scale. It is a matter for municipal municipalities to decide for themselves, what they will do each in its own case. The case for Calcutta will be found discussed in the Administrative Report on the Census of the City.



District Magistrate would issue general instructions to each Charge Superintendent on such lines for example as this: "In this charge one serial may be used for house-numbering to run throughout every *mauza* having not more than 200 houses. In the large *mauzas* in the lowlying area to the north of the *thana* where homestead sites are commonly in long strips, blocks may be marked off before house-numbering and the houses numbered separately in each block. In large *mauzas* in the south of the charge which lies high, a single serial may run through the beats of three *chaukidars* but a new serial should be begun with the beat of the fourth," and that the Charge Superintendent should give written instructions to the Supervisors regarding each large *mauza*. That this would be done proved too much to expect, and indeed the District Census Officers were not men capable of weighing the considerations involved in issuing such orders. Moreover, so early on in the proceedings they had not been relieved of much of the other work they had been doing, and with the census still 8 months ahead had not begun to study the Census Code or give their minds to its details. In some parts supervisors were left to decide for themselves what to do. More than one District Census Officer with whom I discussed the matter advocated turning out so many enumerators in a *mauza* and letting them make up their blocks and number their houses as they liked.

The experience of this census has shown in a most convincing manner that it is better in such a matter to lay down a hard and fast rule, and rural conditions do not vary so much in Bengal that serious inconvenience will arise from doing so. To mark out the blocks finally before house-numbering was successful in no wide area. House-numbering by "*páráś*" is not satisfactory even in the small percentage of large villages which are divided into definite "*páráś*." The process of house-numbering is not really one which takes a great deal of time. It is not important except in the very largest *mauzas* to start house-numbering at more than one point, but the painting of numbers of several digits may be avoided by breaking the serial at the end of each block. For 1931 the best plan for Bengal will be to lay down that house-numbering shall be started at one point in every *mauza* within the circle and shall proceed systematically throughout the *mauza*. When the number 45 is reached it should be considered the limit of a block, and the serial may start again with 1 and again go up to 45 for another block and so on. The supervisor who is getting the house-numbering done through his enumerators may arrange that where the number 45 is reached an enumerator may pass the paint pot and the house list on to another enumerator. The serial being broken in this manner allows of a distinct advantage in that any enumerator can afterwards number a house that has been missed out and enter it in the house list with the number following the last in the serial of his own block.

The criticism may be levelled at the proposal that it is merely to revert to a practice already once discarded. The answer to this is that it was discarded in reference to Bihar. Bihar is now separated and rural conditions in Bengal are so far uniform that it will not lead to difficulty to adopt a uniform plan.

In any single district it is only a very few *mauzas* which contain more than 600 houses. Such have necessarily to be divided between more than one circle and house-numbering may be started independently in each circle the boundaries of which will have been already determined. It is essential that some natural feature shall have been adopted to form such boundaries. The cases are few and such natural features are not likely to be wanting. If a river, *beel* or main road is not available, the District Census Officer at the time of formation of Census Divisions should consult the Settlement 16-inch maps in which he will certainly find some cattle path or stream of which advantage can be taken.

The rural enumerator is found to enjoy painting numbers on the houses of his co-villagers and they do not consider the numbers disfiguring. It seemed that the more complex the numbers would appear to the ordinary individual the better did the enumerator think of himself. There was no necessity and no instructions were issued to the effect that circle number and block number should not be put up as well as house number, but in many parts

these numbers were placed on all the houses in a block. This does no harm but it may be well to mention in the Code for 1931 that it is unnecessary.

14. **Definition of a house.**—No difficulty seems to have been experienced anywhere over the definition of a house. It has remained unaltered since the Census of 1901 and is a unit identical with that employed in assessing *chaukidari* tax. In this Province especially among Hindus the family homestead, whether formally partitioned among the members or not, is divided or spreads out under its shelter of betelnut and mango trees to accommodate each commensal group as it separates. It has been necessary, therefore, in common use to adopt a unit in terms of which the homestead can be divided. The commensal family is the one commonly used. There is, therefore, not likely at any time to be any difficulty over the present definition of a house. Conditions are somewhat different in towns, but their inhabitants are always perfectly acquainted with rural conditions and in practice there is no difficulty over the definition in towns either. The Bengali "*basat bari*" which has been used as a translation for "occupied house" in the forms and Bengali editions of instructions is, however, by no means felicitous. It means the whole homestead site however many families may be included and cannot be applied to other buildings in which people will be found staying on the census night. "*Thakibar ghar*" is a translation no better. Its nearest English equivalent is "living room". It seems that an accurate translation of "occupied house" cannot be obtained without the use of a relative sentence. This may seem cumbrous, but I would advocate its use in the forms and instructions for 1931.

15. **Materials used for house-numbering.**—Coal tar, *gab* juice and charcoal, and *geru* were suggested in the Census Code as suitable materials for house-numbering, but coal tar was the general favourite and proved a most suitable material, especially for the common type of Bengali hut. *Geru* does well enough for mud huts and for masonry buildings plastered and white-washed and its use has the advantage of being considered auspicious, but especially in Eastern Bengal coal tar does much better and there does not seem to be any difficulty in obtaining it locally. *Garjan* oil and lamp-black was used extensively in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and in Darjeeling district and Sikkim chalk. The latter is easily rubbed out and is not really suitable.

16. **Forms.**—The innovations by which there was one form for the house list and the block list of former censuses, and one form for Charge Register and Circle Register, proved successful. By this arrangement enumerators were supplied with copies of the parts of the Supervisor's House Lists which referred to their blocks and Supervisors, with copies of the parts of the Charge Superintendents' registers which referred to their circles. Multiplication of forms necessarily involves further explanation and instruction, and the fact that one paper is on the face of it intended to be a duplicate of the other tends to reduce the number of discrepancies likely to be made between them. Further, that one form instead of two may be used for alternative purposes reduces the wastage of forms. It would have been advantageous if the house list form had been ruled horizontally like the schedule form and one line used for each house. Not only would the forms have been neater but a more accurate estimate could have been made of the forms required and the expenditure of them more easily checked. Too much stress cannot be put on the importance of the check of house-numbering especially in sparsely populated areas in which it is difficult to get about, e.g., in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tripura State, Darjeeling district, Sikkim, and in parts of such districts as Malda, Bankura and Jalpaiguri.

### E.—The Preliminary Enumeration.

17. **The date for commencement.**—The preliminary enumeration was commonly started before the dates given in the Census Code. This can be carried too far and be the cause of unnecessary changes in the schedule at the final enumeration. The dates given in the Code allowed time enough. It would, however, be a pity to check an enumerator in his keenness to begin work by not allowing him to start as soon as he likes. A keen enumerator, moreover, will probably correct his schedule by adding names of newcomers



of whom he hears between his preliminary enumeration and the census day. In some localities where the population shifts very quickly, for example in the "bustees" adjoining the mills along the Hooghly it was found useful to have a second preliminary enumeration at the beginning of the week in which the final census day falls. The coolies have the habit of changing their lodgings at the end of the week and the second preliminary enumeration might, with advantage, have been undertaken more frequently than it was. Brick fields especially on the banks of the Hooghly and along the railway lines out of Calcutta open and immediately become populous centres during February and March. The District Census Officers had to add some new circles and many new blocks even within a few days of the census and may be warned by my successor in 1931 to be prepared to have to do this and to have enumerators selected for appointment at short notice. The same applies to brick fields near the bigger towns away from Calcutta though they depend much more on local labour and it is usually only necessary to add a few more houses to the house list for existing blocks.

**18. Entry of "Caste, Tribe, or Race" among Muhammadans.**—It is the entry of caste which arouses so much interest and excitement. If the caste column were omitted the census would pass off without at all disturbing the tranquility of the Bengal countryside. The heading of the column in English is "Caste, Tribe, or Race" and was translated into Bengali by the comprehensive word "Jati." Muhammadans objected at once that "Jati" meant "caste" as amongst Hindus and that there is no caste among Muhammadans. There are however very distinct subdivisions among the Muhammadan community which are in some cases no doubt distinctions of "race" but in other cases it is difficult to describe them except as following the Hindu meaning of caste closely. The distinctions between them were no doubt always very much looser than between the Hindu castes and are disappearing. In Eastern Bengal in 1911 the column headed "Jati" was filled up for Muhammadans as individuals wished. There were, therefore, no rigidly correct figures with which to make comparison and feeling runs so high especially in the Eastern Bengal districts where the religious revivalist movements of the last century found so many adherents whether they called themselves Farajis, Wahabis or by any other name, that no attempt was made at the census to do otherwise than follow the Eastern Bengal procedure of 1911. Thus Jolahas, Kulus, etc., who had given up their traditional occupations had themselves entered as Karigar, Sheikh, etc., and Muhammadans who had improved their social position no doubt took advantage of the occasion to have themselves entered as Moghuls, Pathans and Saiyads and thereby vitiated distinctions which might have been based on considerations truly of race.

**Among Hindus.**—Caste had been correctly entered in the schedules for Hindus in both Eastern and Western Bengal in 1911 and there has been no appreciable loosening of the rigidity of the Hindu caste system as it has come down through very many centuries. Every Hindu knows what his true caste is, and every one of his co-villagers knows it as well as he does. Yet some among almost every caste except Brahmans are dissatisfied to be designated by the old caste name. If the new name adopted for each caste were the same all over the Province and each caste adopted a name easily distinguishable from that adopted by others the objections to recording it would not be what it is, but even so confusion would be caused. Thus in Eastern Bengal in 1911 the Shahas were allowed to enter themselves Vaisya Shaha. Sunris also use the title Shaha and when Shahas were entered as Vaisya Shaha they entered themselves as Shaha, taking the addition of Vaisya in the one case to be the distinction between the two castes. On the other hand many enumerators particularly when they were Brahmans and Kayasthas refused to use the word Vaisya, and it would therefore have been impossible at the time of tabulating the figures to have treated all who were entered as Shaha without the addition of Vaishya as Sunris. The result was the absurdity which the tables of 1911 show — no Sunris at all in the Chittagong Division and only 47 in the district of Dacca.

The rules of the present census were drafted so as to permit any name or title that an individual gave to be entered in the column for his name. It was hoped that this would satisfy and indeed it did satisfy many. Names become of no importance as soon as the enumeration is done and no entry in the name column is carried on to the slips. Thus by the instructions that were issued no objection was made to the entry of the Jugis by the title of Deb Nath and their women Devi. For the Namasudra the entry of such titles as Halidar, Biswas, Mazumdar, Rai, etc., was permitted and Sunris were entered with the title of Shaha. Some of the Rajbansis who asked to be entered as Kshattriya were appeased by being permitted to have the title Barman entered in the schedules after their names. Other titles, some of which may be described as fantastic, were adopted. Dhobis called themselves Sukla Das, Napits Chandra Das, Patnis Tarini Das, Tiya's Tilak Das and Shiba Das, and so on. No such entries in the column for "name" cause any trouble at later stages.

But all were by no means satisfied by this means and in such parts feeling ran high, and dissatisfaction was increased when the news spread that in Assam any man's caste would be recorded exactly as he gave it. The Chasi Kaibarttas had been permitted in 1911 to be entered as Mahisya, and their energies, the organisation of their caste *Shamitis*, and a considerable amount of money were expended in propaganda directed against the adoption of the term by any of the other castes. Jaliya Kaibartta, Patni and Tiya, etc., who claimed it, and who also had rulings from pandits to back their claims. The following are a number of the claims put forward in various localities :—

Caste.	Caste name claimed.	Caste.	Caste name claimed.
Rajbansi	... Kshattriya, Bratya Kshattriya, Barna Kshattriya.	Shaha	... Vaisya Shaha, Vaisya Bani- kya, Vaisya Barindra Shaha.
Kayastha	... Kshattriya.	Bais Bania	... Vaisya "anikya.
Sutradhar	... Vaisya, Vaisya Sutradhar.	Gaudha Banik	... Vaisya Gandhabanikya, Vaisya.
Hadi	... Kshattriya.	Gonla	... Sadgop, Vaisya Gop.
Kamar	... Kamar Kshattriya, Kshatri, Karmakar.	Kalu	... Teli.
Pundari	... Poundra Kshattriya	Teli	... Tili, Vaisya.
Kahar (Rawani)	... Chandra Vaisya, Kshattriya.	Tili	... Vais ya.
Pod	... Poundra Kshattriya, Bratya Kshattriya.	Kural	... Jugi.
Koch	... Rajbansi, Koch Kshattriya.	Jugi	... Jogi.
Malo	... Rajbansi, Bratya Kshat- triya, Jhalla Kshattriya, Malla Kshattriya, Malla Barmanau.	Ganesh	... Tantubai.
Jalia Kaibartta	... Mahisya, Adi Kaibartta, Rajbansi.	Tanti	... Tantubai, Vaisya Basak.
Patni	... Mahisya, Rajbansi, Lupta Mahisya.	Chasa Dhoba	... Satchasi.
Tiya	... Mahisya, Rajbansi.	Chasa dhoba (Hala- dhar, Malda)	... Sadgop.
Kacharu	... Kayastha.	Ganral	... Mayra.
Mayra	... Kayastha Kuri.	Rishi	... Baidya Rishi.
Barui	... Kayastha, Vaisya, Vaisya Baruijibi, Lata Baidya.	Napit	... Chandra Baidya.
		Chamar	... Charmakar.
		Chunnari	... Churankar.

The majority of these claims but not all are attempts by persons of the castes in the middle and lower parts of the Hindu social scale to identify themselves with one or other of the ancient Varnas. They are not classified in the list above. They are merely placed together in a manner which will show what hopeless confusion would be produced in the caste tables if all the claims were acceded to. A few could safely be permitted. The Jalia Kaibarttas for example were in many cases recorded as Adi Kaibartta. How difficult it is to deal with petitions containing these claims and how necessary it is that District Census Officers who receive such petitions shall make no concessions without reference to the Provincial Superintendent may easily be understood. Such an officer might think he was running no risk by allowing Bais Baniyas in such a district as Malda to be entered Baisya Banikya. Only afterwards would it be found that elsewhere it was a name claimed by Shahas.

19. **The Rajbansis.**—The hardest fought claim was that of the Rajbansis to be entered Kshattriya. In 1911 they claimed Bratiya Kshattriya, a term which signifies a Kshattriya who has neglected his caste obligations,

but during the decade a very large number had taken the sacred thread and the caste name claimed in 1911 no longer satisfied them. They have organized themselves and there is a network of castes *Samitis* among them. They assaulted a Police Sub-Inspector at Pirganj in Dinajpur, and through large areas in Rangpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri where they formed almost the whole population, enumerators who were Rajbansis and could not be replaced as there were none of other castes in the villages willing or capable of replacing them, threatened to strike if their demands were not acceded to. I met their acknowledged leader, Rai Sahib Panchanan Barman, a member of the Legislative Council, in Calcutta, and with a number of other leading Rajbansis again in Rangpur. It was explained and I am sure understood that if the Rajbansis were entered as Kshattriyas, the Kayasthas many of whom were enumerators would see that Kayasthas too were entered Kshattriya, for that old agitation on their part that they are Kshattriyas is by no means dead, and that the same thing would happen in the case of several other castes, Malo, Koch, Pamlari, etc., and the caste tables would be vitiated. Finally it was agreed that Rajbansis who were enumerators might write their caste fellows Rajbansi (Kshattriya). This does not altogether get over the difficulty for there is still the danger that the slip copyist finding two words in the caste column will copy only one of them and the omission go undetected, but concession to this extent was absolutely necessary to avoid a break-down in the arrangements. The same instructions were purposely not given to enumerators of other castes. I had also to promise to use the term Rajbansi (Kshattriya) in the Census Tables.

20. **Resolutions in public meetings against the entry of caste at all.**—In some parts the excitement aroused by the entry of caste took a curious turn. Meetings were held, attended often by pleaders and others of high caste who were not personally interested in the agitation, and resolutions passed to the effect that caste was not a matter into which Government had any right to enquire and recommending the public to refuse information on the subject. Seeing that the question regarding caste had been prescribed by Government, and under the Census Act the question was one which individuals were legally bound to answer, such resolutions were improper. The form they took was, however, merely a reflection of the existing political condition in India. In another country the resolutions could have expressed the consensus of opinion in the meetings that "the enquiry into caste of individuals produces an amount of excitement and discontent which more than outweighs the advantages obtainable in the use of the resultant statistics." In this form the resolution deserves examination.

21. **Suggestions for 1931.**—By 1931 the political situation may be easier but the dissatisfaction with the old caste names will undoubtedly have increased as it has done in successive decades up to the present. Statistics of caste are very valuable as the leaders of every caste and the numerous representatives from among them whom I met at once admitted. Census Table IX showing Education by caste, Table XVI Age and Civil Condition by caste and XXI Occupation by caste are tables which every leader of his caste is interested in. On the other hand incorrect caste statistics are not only valueless but misleading, and the inclusion of them in the Census Tables would tend to discredit the whole census operation and its results. The figures for Jolahas and Kulus among the Muhammadans are utterly valueless as statistics, and even the psychological interest that they possess is very little. If caste statistics for Hindus are not to be dropped in 1931 it is essential that Census Officers shall do their best to discover and enter the true caste of individuals by the old terms which are known and understood by all. It would strengthen the hands of the Census Officers very much if the question whether caste shall be recorded or not is placed before the Reformed Councils, the difficulties which arose at this census explained, and the matter discussed at length when the Census Act is passed. The decision may be expected to be in favour of the completion of the statistics which are indeed very valuable ones, while the objections to the enquiry are mainly ones of sentiment among the lower classes.

I would further suggest that the column should be left blank for Muhammadans; that the Provincial Superintendent should print and issue the caste index and list of vague terms such as formed appendices X and XI to the Census Code early, and local officers requested to pass no orders on caste petitions without consulting him. They should be instructed to lay stress on the fact that no attempt will be made in connection with the census to place the castes in order of precedence and that in the tables they will be set out not otherwise than in alphabetical order; and to show petitioners the forms of Census Tables IX and XXI Education and Occupation by caste. The leaders in these agitations can readily be made to understand that it is the more advanced of each community who wish to discard their old caste name. If they are allowed to do so and their caste identity is obscured, the statistics of Tables IX and XXI will be based on conditions among the less advanced of the caste and will consequently make the community out more backward than it really is. In dealing with applications and applicants it should always be remembered that the bulk of the enumerators are *Bhadralok*, few of whom have any sympathy with the claims put forward, and many of whom will be bitterly opposed to them, holding them foolish, impudent or even sacrilegious. A Brahman enumerator in Mymensingh said he would rather caste off his sacred thread than do anything so unscriptural as write down a Jugi woman Debi, and thousands of others held the same sentiments. One unprejudiced in the matter is inclined to sympathise with the agitation, but that sympathy is to some extent alienated when it is realized that the agitators do not aim at breaking the caste system—quite the reverse, for they are at least as insistent upon combating the claims of castes whom they consider lower than themselves as in advancing their own claims. Much bitterness was caused by the propaganda of Chasi Kaibarttas (Mahisya) against the claims of other communities to the term Mahisya or any variation of it. Such communities are prepared to spend large sums on their propaganda and, use may sometimes be made of it by the Census Superintendent for it is exceedingly difficult to disseminate instructions to enumerators in this matter through a staff of Census Officers who as a body are out of all sympathy with such claims by the lower castes.

22. **The check of the preliminary enumeration.**—A Hindu festival the Sivaratri puja came at the time when the preliminary enumeration was to have been nearly completed and there were for most districts in the Province two days' holiday, a Monday and a Tuesday. The festival is one not generally kept by fasting or feasting. Arrangements were made for Courts and Government Offices except those under the High Court to be closed on the previous Saturday and this Monday and Tuesday so that 4 clear days were available during which clerks were sent out in all directions to check the schedules. They had had previous instructions and were also armed with the "list of common mistakes" which proved a very useful document although it might with advantage have been in Bengali and printed in rather larger quantities. In some districts they checked practically all the enumeration books and the general opinion expressed by District Census Officers is that their employment was very useful indeed, though less so in the districts near Calcutta than further away. The reason for this is that the enumerators nearer Calcutta were more capable persons than further away and the clerks in Government Offices are on the other hand less capable and less willing workers. The value of this deputation of clerks depends upon the knowledge they have of the rules for filling up the schedule and this depends as much upon the care in the District Census Officer expends on their instructions as on themselves. It cannot be doubted that at this census the arrangement proved a success and that when this was not decidedly the case the reason was the slackness of the District Census Officer.

There is a general consensus of opinion that the printed instructions were not sufficiently studied by the enumerators and that they gained more knowledge of rules and procedure from the oral instructions they received and the experience gained by writing a draft record on plain paper and having it corrected. Only one District Census Officer is, however, in favour of having the instructions to enumerators separate from the "cover," and it

seems likely that it will always be necessary to rely on oral more than written instructions. As has been already mentioned it is worth considering whether it would not pay to provide sufficient forms for a rough record to be copied into clean forms afterwards. The expense would be considerable, but much discontent among enumerators at having to provide plain papers themselves would be removed. The rough schedules, if forms are supplied by Government, should be collected and destroyed in the face of the legal provision which makes the Census Records confidential. Even as it was some "Khasra" schedules of 1911 were produced before one District Census Officer to prove how one section of the community had been recorded ten years before.

**23. The Distinction between rent payers and rent receivers.**—In the Bengali edition of the Instructions to Enumerators, printed on the Enumeration Book cover an attempt was made to arrange for the simplification of the entry of rent receivers and cultivators. The word *praja* was to be entered for all kinds of cultivators and the word *bishaybhogi* for all landlords and middlemen in the land system. The instructions proved a stumbling block in some instances and some District Census Officers in their reports have suggested that they should not be repeated. The experience in the offices where the statistics were abstracted from the schedules and tabulated shows that by the time the schedules were finally completed the difficulties had been got over. The difficulties of the experiment were largely on account of its novelty. Much is remembered from one census to the next and it is probable that the use of the terms prescribed in this census may produce no difficulties at the next. The term *praja* is far less likely to cause trouble than the use of literal translations of the English equivalent "rent payer." The alternative is to let the enumerator fill up the column for occupations in his own words, for occupations connected with agriculture as for other occupations and leave the classification of the terms used to be done in Central Offices. This will commonly involve difficulties and be the cause of mistakes owing to the fact that the same term has so often a different shade of meaning in different parts, and even in the same part the term by which a tenant's right is described often does not distinguish whether he cultivates himself or sublets to others. Thus the word *jot* in Dacca district commonly expresses the right of one ordinary raiyat while in Jalpaiguri a *jot* is a middle-right. The use of terms in which the tenant describes himself becomes hopelessly misleading as to his occupation in a locality such as Noakhali district and parts of Tippera where the custom has grown up by which an ordinary cultivator pays a premium to his landlord and acquires a permanent right which in form and on paper is the right of a middleman and is described as *patni*, *shikmi*, etc., terms commonly used to describe middlemen's rights. It was to meet such difficulties as these that the words *praja* and *bishaybhogi* were prescribed, and also to provide so that the sorting for Table XVII should, without any delay for classification of terms being necessary, separate the agricultural occupations to be dealt with in Table XVIII. The instructions should, in any case, state explicitly that one who pays rent in kind or shares in produce of land which he has cultivated with the man from whom he holds it should be returned as cultivators and not as farm servants, without raising the burning question whether by his cultivation he has acquired any rights in the land. The word *bishaybhogi* appeared in the instruction to enumerators in 1911 as an equivalent for "rent receiver." It might be used to describe the occupation of a money-lender and one living on dividends paid by an industrial concern, and another word might have served the purpose better. It is, however, very difficult to find one, and the experience in tabulation showed that other terms had been used for money-lenders and those living on their incomes.

#### F.—The Final Enumeration.

**24. The date chosen.**—The final census took place on March 18th, between 7 P.M. and midnight. On this occasion the enumerators made a final round of their blocks, struck out from the schedules the name of persons who had died or gone away and entered new-born infants and new-comers. The

date fell a week later than in 1911 and that was a week later than the census before. The 18th of March is too late to be a suitable date in Bengal for it brings the final census too far into the season of storms in the Eastern part of the Province. Especially during the early part of the season these storms always come within two or three hours before or after sunset and this year the enumerators were delayed by them from going out on their final rounds in more than one locality, notably in Faridpur and Jalpaiguri districts where it rained till 8 P.M., and in Khulna. As far as the weather in Bengal is concerned it is better not to put the date of the final census later than the first week in March. In 1931 the moon will give suitable dates just about the end of February. For Bengal that will be a better time to choose than the corresponding period in the next lunar month. The Jews in Calcutta protested that to have chosen Friday night was objectionable on the ground that their Sabbath commenced at sunset on Friday. They are, however, a very small community and it is not many that keep the Sabbath strictly, and their protest had in any case come too late to be listened to. Friday is on most counts the best day of the week to choose. It was found, however, that some of the mills round Calcutta were working short time and were closed on Saturdays. The men were being paid on Friday night, and after getting their pay numbers of them with their families left their lodgings either to go home or to move into others, while many went off that night to the toddy shops. The District Officer of Howrah accordingly requested managers to defer paying their men till the Saturday morning. Some arranged to do so, but others demurred on account of the unrest which was manifesting itself among labourers on all sides. Should the mills be working short time in 1931 the same difficulties may be anticipated. In 1911 in certain mill bustees in Barrackpore subdivision where the coolies rent their quarters by the week and commonly change them on a Sunday the experiment of a second preliminary enumeration at the beginning of the week in which the final census day fell was tried with success. It was repeated this time with equally successful results. The interval from Monday to Friday is just long enough for a second preliminary round.

25. **The provisional totals.**—The preparation of the provisional totals began either at midnight or on the morning after the census. Enumerators met their Supervisors and prepared abstracts for their blocks. The Supervisors then completed summaries for their circles and sent them to the Charge Superintendents who collected the figures in their charge summaries and sent them either to the Subdivisional Officer or direct to the District headquarters. The former plan was the more commonly adopted. As there had been census holidays for the check of the preliminary enumeration, so it was arranged that offices should be closed in order that clerks could be sent out to assist in getting in the provisional totals. Courts and offices were closed after midday on the 18th, Friday, on the Saturday and on the Monday. The courts under District Judges as well as those under the District Magistrates were closed under unexpected orders from the High Court. The Judicial Department when consulted in the matter at the time that arrangements were being made, had demurred at the closing of the Civil and Sessions Courts and neither I nor the District Census Officers expected them to be closed for the final census or had arranged to make use of the services of the clerks attached to them, until the High Court's Circular was received a day or two beforehand. The closing of the Civil and Sessions Courts is in my opinion unnecessary though the closing of other Government offices in mufassal stations and the use of the services of their clerks proved a very successful arrangement. It would have been better to have had the offices closed all day on the 18th however, for closing after midday did not allow clerks to get out in time to the remoter areas. Railway services are usually arranged so as to allow litigants to get away after court hours and often when the offices had closed at midday the clerks were still unable to set out by train before the evening. On the other hand circle summaries had in most cases reached Charge Superintendents by the morning of the Sunday and there was nothing for clerks to do except in the subdivisional and district headquarter stations on the Monday. Friday is likely to be chosen as the census day in 1931 as for many reasons.

is the best day of the week to choose. It will be well to make the whole day on the Friday and the Saturday census holidays. The offices may conveniently be opened again on the Monday morning.

Some considerable enthusiasm was aroused in the competition to be the first Supervisor in the charge to pass his figures to the Charge Superintendent, to be the first Charge Superintendent in the district to get them into headquarters, and to be the first District Census Officer to telegraph his totals to Calcutta and Simla. The date and hour at which the Officers in charge sent off their telegrams giving the provincial totals for their districts were as follows :—

Serial No.	—				Date.	Hours.
1	Cooch Behar	...	...	...	20th March 1921	11-15 A.M.
2	Howrah	...	...	...	Ditto	12-30 P.M.
3	Noakhali	...	...	...	Ditto	3-5 "
4	Bogra	...	...	...	Ditto	6-35 "
5	Bakarganj	...	...	...	Ditto	7-10 "
6	Faridpur	...	...	...	21st March 1921	12-30 "
7	Birbhum	...	...	...	Ditto	2-0 "
8	Nadia	...	...	...	Ditto	5-0 "
9	Dinajpur	...	...	...	Ditto	5-0 "
10	Darjeeling	...	...	...	Ditto	7-20 "
11	Bankura	...	...	...	Ditto	7-45 "
12	Suburbs of Calcutta in the 24 Parganas	...	...	...	Ditto	8-0 "
13	Rajshahi	...	...	...	Ditto	9-50 A.M.
14	Murshidabad	...	...	...	22nd March 1921	8-45 "
15	Malda	...	...	...	Ditto	9-15 "
16	Midnapore	...	...	...	Ditto	9-25 "
17	Hooghly	...	...	...	Ditto	10-0 "
18	Tippera	...	...	...	Ditto	10-0 "
19	Burdwan	...	...	...	Ditto	11-15 "
20	Jessore	...	...	...	Ditto	12-35 P.M.
21	Dacca	...	...	...	Ditto	1-10 "
22	Rangpur	...	...	...	Ditto	4-41 "
23	Chittagong	...	...	...	Ditto	5-30 "
24	Mymensingh	...	...	...	Ditto	7-5 "
25	Khulna	...	...	...	23rd March 1921	9-35 A.M.
26	Pabna	...	...	...	Ditto	5-0 P.M.
27	Calcutta	...	...	...	24th March 1921	2-0 "
28	Jalpaiguri	...	...	...	Ditto	4-15 "
29	Chittagong Hill Tracts	...	...	...	Ditto	4-30 "
30	Tripura State	...	...	...	25th March 1921	10-0 A.M.
31	24 Parganas	...	...	...	Ditto	4-0 P.M.

The figures for Sikkim where there was no final enumeration came in on the 18th.



26. **Suggestions.**—It was found that in spite of the explicit instructions which were issued to the contrary column 2 of the schedule the serial of the number of persons was filled up before the final enumeration. I would suggest the addition of the words "not to be filled up till after the final census" in the heading of the column. It might also be useful to print no figures in this column in the specimen schedule but instead to print down the length of it "to be filled up at the morning of such and such a date" (the day after the final census). The order of the columns in the enumerators' abstract should be changed so that the total is placed after the columns for total males and total females. This is the natural order for the circle and charge summaries and to have a different order in the abstract tends to introduce mistakes in transposing figures. More than one District Census Officer suggests that it would be better not to prescribe in the Census Code any last dates and hours by which provisional figures should be passed on, as the slacker Census Officers are inclined to be satisfied if they get them in within the time mentioned. Others suggest that the circle summaries and charge summaries should be in Bengali. The transposition from Bengali to English figures must come somewhere and it is very easy for anyone to make a mistake in this. Mistakes are less likely to be made in dealing with small numbers than with large numbers, and are avoidable when one man reads out figures and another man takes them down. This method is more likely to be used by the Supervisor whose enumerators have come to him in person than by the Charge Superintendent or a clerk in the District Office to whom the figures are sent by a chaukidar or other messenger. The man selected as Supervisor can almost always manage English figures without difficulty and will often have a Government clerk at hand to help. I repeat the suggestion because several District Census Officers made it, but I do not consider it a good one.

#### G.— Non-synchronous areas.

27. The Census Code lays down a procedure considered suitable for a normal plains district and adds that special arrangements should be made for areas where conditions are such that the final revision of the record cannot be carried out in its entirety. It is, however, by no means generally admitted that even in a civilized country a census is best carried by methods which provides for a final revision in one night. The method has not been attempted for instance in the United States of America. The case of remote areas where the population is very thin, where wild animals make it dangerous to be out at night and where it is difficult to get about either on account of the thickness of the jungle or the precipitousness of the hills, should be treated not so much on consideration whether the procedure provided for the plains can by any means be carried out, as whether another procedure would not produce equally good results with much less trouble to those who carry it out. In the Census of 1911 it does not appear that a modification of the normal form of procedure was proposed for any part of the hill area in Darjeeling district, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts or in Tripura State, and following the procedure of that Census Local Officers at first proposed the formation of census divisions in them as in the plains. For Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State the number of enumerators that it was proposed to appoint rose almost to the level of the total number of literates who had been counted in these areas ten years before and it was obvious, therefore, that many had been selected for appointment as Census Officers who must have been quite unfit for the job. Accordingly the local officers were requested to revise the arrangements, throw two blocks into one as often as there was any doubt as to the capacity of an enumerator to do his work satisfactorily, and to give up the attempt at a final census after sunset if it appeared convenient to do so. It was pointed out that errors due to there being a day census in one area and a night census in another arose on the boundary line between the two areas, and that it was therefore important to reduce the length of this boundary to a minimum by making the non-synchronous census areas as compact as possible and to choose natural boundaries for them. Accordingly it was arranged that the census should be a day census throughout the Chittagong



Hill Tracts except for the headquarters station of Rangamati, for much of Tripura State, and in Darjeeling district for the part of Kalimpong subdivision beyond the Rilli river (except the Government Cinchona plantation and tea gardens), the Kalimpong Forest Division and the Singlela Range in the Darjeeling Forest Division. The census was also finally checked before sunset instead of after in the Madhupur jungle in Mymensingh district and in some parts of the islands in Noakhali district. None of these areas had been made definitely non-synchronous areas in 1911, though the final night census in all of them must have been somewhat a farce. In Western Bengal the following were non-synchronous census areas. They were much the same as in 1911 :—

Midnapore District.—Fifteen circles in Binpur police-station, 2 circles in Nayanpur police-station and 1 circle and 10 blocks in 3 others in Thangram police-station.

Bankura District.—Four Circles and part of a fifth in Ranibandh police-station.

28. **Sikkim.**—No attempt at any final census was made in Sikkim. Here the arrangements of 1911 were closely followed, paid Charge Superintendents two in number and 12 paid Supervisors being employed. When preliminary arrangements were being made the post of Political Agent was being held by Mr. C. A. Bell, who had gone at a Mission into Tibet and it was, therefore, arranged that I should correspond direct with the General Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja, who would collect the provisional totals and telegraph them direct to Calcutta and to Simla and would also carry out the work of slip copying. Babu B. L. Thapa, Head Clerk, in the Miscellaneous Department of the Government of Sikkim, who had had much to do with the arrangements in 1911, filled the position of the District Census Officer in a Bengal district. Of the two Charge Superintendents one was a State servant in the Excise Department and the other the Post Master of Namchi whose services were lent for the occasion. Both had previous census experience. I was able to meet the twelve Supervisors in Gantok at the end of October and they went out almost at once to begin house-numbering after a village register had been prepared on the same lines as in 1911. House-numbering was checked by the Supervisors and the officer corresponding to the District Census Officer. A considerable number of defects and omissions was found but these were rectified. The landlords (Thikadars) were given some responsibility. They were to check the house-numbering and to arrange for the *mandals* or their *baidars* or other suitable persons to act as enumerators. The enumeration was arranged to take place between January 15th and February 15th as in 1911 and February 11th was fixed as a date for enumeration of wandering Tibetan herdsmen, travelling traders, guests in the houses of the inhabitants and the date up to which newly-born infants were entered and death recorded by striking out the name of the deceased from the schedules. It was not contemplated by me nor laid down in the Rules for 1911 which were re-issued that such a date should be fixed. It was an attempt to imitate the procedure for a plains district and in my opinion must either have been a farce or must have given a great deal of trouble for very little advantage. Emphatically it should not be repeated. In an area as difficult of communication as Sikkim is and must remain for many years to come, no attempt should be made at anything more elaborate than what in the plains is the procedure for the preliminary enumeration. A final enumeration might be done for the census of the little bazars found scattered over the country but should not be attempted otherwise. The enumeration was checked by Supervisors, Charge Superintendents and the resultant figures sent to the Capital. The provisional totals were telegraphed to me on the 18th March, the final census day in the plains. The arrangements for the census suited admirably the nature of the country with its deep valleys and precipitous hill sides. A more elaborate system would not have been successful. The full details of the system employed were printed in Chapter IV of the Administrative Report of the Census in Bengal and Sikkim 1911, and it is therefore unnecessary to print them again.

## H.—Special Arrangements.

29. **Census of tea gardens, mines and factories.**—The special procedure detailed in Appendix V of the Census Code to be used when it was considered necessary in the case of tea gardens, mines or factories was actually applied only to the tea gardens in Jalpaiguri district. In the coal mines, iron works, etc., in Asansol subdivision as well as in the mills up and down the Hooghly the ordinary procedure was adopted, the managers being invited to co-operate, which they did with a will, and to choose Supervisors and enumerators for appointment. The same arrangement was adopted for the tea gardens of Darjeeling and Chittagong districts, and I recommended it to the District Census Officer in Jalpaiguri district. He, however, was emphatic in stating his preference for the special procedure and it was adopted. It was afterwards apparent that he had not studied the census code or really appreciated the considerations involved. It was partly the special procedure which was responsible for the fact the Jalpaiguri district was by many weeks the last in which the formation of the census divisions was completed, the last by as long an interval from which a preliminary abstract of census divisions could be completed, and the last to send in its provisional totals. Any departure from normal procedure is a disadvantage in itself, as it involves the dissemination and absorption of an increased bulk of instructions, and the printing and distribution of special forms. In this case there was no corresponding advantage. The District Census Officer did by increased correspondence what could better have been done by personal interviews and verbal instruction either by himself or by his Charge Superintendent, and delay was not the only disadvantageous result. There was no reason why he should not have been able to get into touch with the managers of the gardens in that district as his fellow was able to do in Darjeeling. I would recommend that the rules corresponding to Appendix V of the Census Code should be cut out of the Code for 1931 and the normal procedure applied to all tea gardens, mines and factories. It is of course essential that managers shall be given the opportunity of nominating Supervisors and enumerators as they are very chary of giving outsiders an excuse for mixing with their labour. In this connection I would suggest the advisability of deferring the Industrial Census of that is repeated in 1913 until after the regular census has been finished.

30. **Inland steamers.**—The procedure described in Appendix VII of the Census Code was successfully applied, although some difficulty arose in distinguishing "ferry and feeder steamers," and "mail" steamers. The rules were based upon the following considerations. There are steamers which ply between limits within the same district. The District Census Officer will have no difficulty in arranging for the census of these. There are on the other hand steamers which ply on routes extending sometimes through many districts. Some of them ply to a timetable but on the other hand some which are used to tow flats and boats are despatched by the local agents according to the convenience to the company's freight service. The steamers called despatch steamers going up into Assam and up the Ganges have a timetable but now that their freight is much more important to the company than their passenger service it does not seriously try to run these steamers to time. It is impossible for the District Census Officers to make arrangements for the census of such steamers and arrangements are therefore made through the steamer companies. It being the intention to leave census arrangements for the steamers plying only within a single district to the District Census Officer and to ask the companies to make arrangements for the others, the use of the terms "ferry and feeder steamers" and "mail" steamers to distinguish the two classes is misleading. Mails are not carried by the Assam despatch steamers nor by steamers employed in towing flats down to Calcutta with jute from such places as Narainganj and Chandpur but they travel through several districts on the way. On the other hand the steamer for instance from Barisal to Patuakhali both within the Bakarganj district maintains a mail service. The steamer companies were found unable to distinguish vessels plying within one district from vessels on a run extending through several districts, owing to the fact that

they keep little or no cognizance of the boundaries of the civil districts but have the river area divided up in a different manner for their own purposes. What actually was done was that the steamer companies supplied a list of all their vessels and the work they were doing. I selected some and requested District Census Officers to deal with them, giving their names and the runs they were on, and sent forms to the steamer companies requesting them to arrange for the census of the rest. At the request of the Provincial Superintendents of Census in Assam and Bihar all the steamers belonging to the two large companies viz., The Indian General Navigation and Railway Company and the River Steam Navigation Company, were dealt with by me in the same way. Steamers on runs within the boundaries of Bihar and Assam were set apart to be dealt with in these Provinces while forms were supplied by me to the companies for steamers which might be going up into Bihar and Assam.

The arrangements worked satisfactorily by which the enumeration books for steamers were made over to the enumerators or Supervisors at the first ghat at which they touched on the morning after the census, and no instances were discovered in which those on a river steamer escaped enumeration or in which the books were not brought into some district headquarters. Trouble did, however, arise at some points when for example a steamer was taken off one run and put on another or was put out of commission for repairs. Other difficulties arose in respect of flats and country boats belonging to the steamer companies. Flats moored against the bank to act as station pontoons against which passenger steamers would touch were dealt with by the enumerators at the ghats, but other flats moving or anchored and awaiting cargo were dealt with through the steamer companies. Some country boats belonging to the steamer companies ply in and about the Port of Calcutta, but not all. The companies indicated definitely that some plied only in the Port and the supply of schedules for these were left to be made by the Port Police who carried out the census of all but sea-going vessels in the Port (*vide* Administrative Census Report for Calcutta). For the other country boats forms were supplied from my office direct to the companies. Some of these boats were in the Port on 18th March and the schedules were collected by the Port enumerators. Others were away from Calcutta and the schedules were made over to the enumerators at the ghats at which the boats touched the next day.

**31. Modification of arrangements suggested.**—As far as this Province is concerned a better arrangement than to divide all steamers and their attendant flats and barges into two classes would be to leave all the vessels belonging to the same company to be dealt with in the same manner but to make different arrangements in respect of different companies. It would have been better to have arranged on this occasion with the two biggest steamer companies the I.G.S.N. Co., and R.S.N. & Ry. Co., to supply them with forms and get them to complete the census of all their vessels of all sorts. One or two other companies whose business is mainly in bringing down jute, etc., towed in flats from Eastern Bengal waters to Calcutta and Messrs. Hoare Millars Line might have been asked to do the same and the remaining steamers and boats left to be dealt with by the District Census Officers. I recommend such an arrangement for 1931. Railway companies' ferry steamers were treated as part of the railway service, an arrangement which needs no alteration.

**32. Cantonments.**—Cantonments in Bengal are unimportant and gave little difficulty. It was found impossible to follow the rule that an European Civil Officer should be selected to conclude arrangements with the military officers, but no difficulty arose on this score. Shortly before the census a fresh supply of forms had to be made to Fort William. The first supply had been handed over and a receipt obtained but what became of them was never discovered. No troops were on the move on the night of the final census.

**33. Railways.**—The method employed on railways in 1911 was radically changed by the Census Commissioner for this census and the change must

be considered emphatically a change for the better. Instead of the railways forming separate census units each station was included in the census unit of the civil district in which it lay. The residents of small wayside stations were enumerated in the blocks in which the station buildings lay while passengers entering or alighting from the trains formed a block within the same circle. The residents in larger stations were enumerated in separate blocks. Still larger stations were formed into circles with blocks for residents and passengers but the circle supervisors were subordinate to the Superintendent of the Charge in which they lay, while the largest stations and railway settlements formed separate Charges. The great advantage which ensued was the correct and automatic distribution of the figures for the resident railway staff and travelling population among the civil districts, police-stations and *mauzas* through which the railway ran, a distribution which had on former occasions to be done with great difficulty and much risk of mistake in office after the census papers had been collected. On account of the change the new rules were received rather late and in some districts the officers in charge who had assumed that the old practice would be repeated had to change their plans, but it was still a very early stage in the preliminary arrangements that had been reached and no real difficulty was caused. A few District Census Officers, for instance, those at Jalpaiguir and Dacca did not take the trouble to read the rules when he did get them and in the case of Jalpaiguri it was not until the beginning of January that I discovered while on tour in the district that the old plan was being followed, and the arrangements had as late as that to be made afresh. The District Traffic Superintendents, who were the Railway Officers commonly selected to co-operate with the District Census Officers in arranging what was to be done, gave all possible assistance and arrangements were made which worked most satisfactorily. Railway Officers like the officers of the steamer companies are often found to have very vague knowledge of the boundaries of civil districts and without close co-operation between the District Census Officers and the District Traffic Superintendents mistakes might easily have arisen from this cause. In some instances signs of jealousy at first appeared when station masters who remembered the old procedure found that their stations had been included in the census circles in which they lay and that for census purposes they were to be subordinate to the local Supervisors, but when they realized that this arrangement was being made universally they acquiesced. They objected in some cases to numbers being placed on the station buildings. This was especially the case on the East Indian Railway. At Bandel the railway staff went as far as to remove the numbers and the Agent wrote complaining of the disfigurement which the numbers had caused and asking that the numbers already on the buildings for railway purposes might be used for census purpose also. In reply it was pointed out that the railway numbers were not suitable for the census purpose, both on account of the fact that for census purposes only buildings likely to be occupied on the census night required to be numbered and because the serial of the railway numbers bore no reference to the arrangement of census blocks, and that the erasure of a census number was an act for which a private person would certainly have rendered himself liable to prosecution. Railway buildings in India are not usually designed to be of pleasing appearance and are frequently plastered with posters timetables, etc., so that the census number does not add much to the disfigurement, but it might be mentioned in the rule that the numbers shall be painted on them as carefully and as evenly as possible. Obviously it is impossible to make use of the railway numbers. When as commonly a wayside station is included in the block in which it lies the railway houses must be numbered in the serial for the block. Moreover, because an erection supporting a water tank has a number for railway purposes it would be absurd that the enumerator should treat it as a house.

One of the greatest advantages of the new arrangement was that it provides for the dissemination of the instructions of railway enumerators through the census staff of the civil districts in such matters as the record of caste, occupation and birth place. Railway officers, being frequently Europeans

and Anglo-Indians or Indians from distant parts, have little knowledge of the Bengali language in which the census record is prepared and little knowledge and less interest in the castes and occupations of Bengalis who form the large majority of the passengers. They are unable to give instructions on these subjects and unable to check the correctness of the manner in which the schedules are filled up. The enumerator himself was usually a Bengali clerk or ticket collector, and it was a great advantage that he was placed subordinate to the Bengali Supervisor of the locality in which the station lay rather than to a railway officer. The record of caste and occupation in the schedules for railway passengers is still defective, partly on account of the fact that there has been no preliminary enumeration which can be checked and partly because the railway enumerator is sometimes inclined to look upon himself as the superior of the local Supervisor and is disinclined to take instruction from him. In places difficulties arose from the fact that the only persons at a railway station who could fill the posts of enumerator were foreigners. This was especially the case on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, where many of the station's staff at small stations are Madrasis. There are very few Bengalis employed in the Railway Settlement at Kharagpur and consequently, in spite of the efforts of the District Census Officer to arrange otherwise, most of the schedules had to be written in English. At other points on the railways, for example at Sealdah and Howrah, the enumerators, although they were Bengalis and had been asked to write in Bengali, wrote in English. The reason given was that they were the more used to writing in English and could do so very much more quickly than in Bengali. The result was difficulty and extra expense at the time of slip-copying. It was necessary to fix a special rate of eleven instead of nine pice per hundred for copying the slips for Kharagpur Settlement. The same failure to persuade educated Bengali enumerators to write in Bengali and not in English was frequently experienced in Calcutta and eleven pice had to be paid for copying the Calcutta slips also.

During the progress of this census there was a noticeable tendency on the part of local officers to elaborate precautions intended to ensure that no one should escape enumeration, forgetting that the result is vitiated as much by double enumeration as by omission of an individual altogether. That the railway staff was inclined to be overcareful that no traveller escaped enumeration was perhaps due to the fact that it had no part in the census of those who stay at home. It was the business of the District Census Officers to check this, but, instead, unless they were warned, they exhibited the same tendency. It was not easy to get them to complete their arrangements so that the chances of omission and of double enumeration were nicely balanced. As far as the ordinary enumerator is concerned the chance that he will not have noticed the absence of one whom he included in the schedules at preliminary enumeration is balanced by the chance that a new-comer will be missed. Travellers' tickets are supplied to all persons found in the move on the night of the census, as far as possible to prevent their enumeration more than once, but the ordinary enumerator does not distribute travellers' tickets to those found at home. If they leave home afterwards they may easily be counted again by an over-zealous enumerator of travellers. Similarly, a man who was enumerated once as a traveller may lose his traveller's ticket and be enumerated again either at home or on the railway. To balance these possibilities there is the likelihood of travellers escaping enumeration altogether. The tendency is by over-elaborate precautions to reduce this possibility so far as to upset the balance. On the Assam-Bengal Railway it was proposed by the railway staff to begin station enumeration at 10 in the morning and in spite of my protest it was still commenced at that hour for passengers taking tickets for long journeys and for all persons taking tickets or alighting from a train at 6-30. Station enumeration should on no account be started before the enumeration in the area through which the railway runs. Even so it permits of a large number of persons leaving the train after being enumerated to get home before the enumerator comes round, and, having lost

their "travellers' tickets" on the way or throw them away as they commonly do after having given up their railway tickets, to be enumerated again.

The enumeration of passengers alighting from a train at a large terminus is an impossibility especially when their tickets have already been collected and they do not have to pass a barrier. Accordingly it was arranged that for every train coming into Howrah after 7 P.M. there should be a "train enumeration" at Liloah, Ramrajatala or other stations where the tickets were collected. Such an arrangement might have been advantageously employed at other stations and it would have been well to make mention of it in the rules, though it is likely to be opposed by the Traffic staff on the ground that it might disturb the working of the timetables.

Train enumeration is not so easy to arrange as might be expected. The railway staff are inclined to consider timetables as unalterable as the laws of nature and cannot be easily induced deliberately to delay a train ten minutes at a road-side station. Apparently in order not to disturb the sacred timetable, orders were passed by the Traffic Manager of the Eastern Bengal Railway, providing for train enumeration to take place in every instance at a junction where the train made a long wait or at a terminus, *e.g.*, at Lalgola Ghat, at Santahar, at Siliguri, at Sealdah, at Goalundo and at Narainganj. It is, however, quite impossible to keep third class passengers in the train at the station where they know they have to get out, by locking the doors until an enumerator has passed along the train. They will be out through the windows in a few moments if the experiment is tried. It was, however, necessary for me to address the Agent of the Railway in order to get the arrangement changed. It seems likely that the railway officials responsible had not taken the trouble to find out how the census would be carried out, and imagining that full details would have to be recorded for all passengers thought the train enumeration would be a much longer process than was actually the case. Most of the passengers at 6 A.M. on a train in Bengal started their journeys after sunset the night before and had therefore, been enumerated at the station for which they started and been given travellers' tickets, and train enumeration was therefore generally finished very quickly.

The working staff of trains, drivers, foremen, guards, travelling parcel clerks, etc., on duty with trains on the night of the census were not included in the enumeration of passengers, but were treated for census purposes as resident in their homes. The same was the case with employees working at railway stations.

"Ballast trains" formed separate blocks the guard being responsible for the enumeration. Such trains are usually stabled for the night in or near some station. The procedure of 1911 was used: the railway authorities informing the District Census Officers of the number of ballast trains likely to be running on the census night and the stations where they would be stabled. Some difficulty was caused in Burdwan district by ballast trains stopping at stations where they were not expected and it would have been a better arrangement to have supplied them with forms through the District Engineers of the railway and arranged for the enumeration books to be given up as is done in the case of mail steamers to the enumerator at whatever station the train may be on the morning after the census.

34. **Boats.**—The boat population in some districts is very large but in proportion to the numbers there is not as much risk of double enumeration of persons in boats and on shore as there is of persons in trains and in their houses, for the bulk of the boat population lives permanently in its boats or at least lives in them for considerable periods at a time. The danger of double enumeration is in dealing with the same boat twice. In a district like Bakarganj intersected by streams in all directions the number of enumerators who may find boats halting in their blocks is a large proportion of the total number. Provision was not made to supply enumerators of land blocks with boat tickets. They were to give tickets to boatmen in their own handwriting on scraps of paper after enumerating them. To have supplied boat tickets to every enumerator whose block touched a stream would have

required a very large number and most of them would not have been required to be used. The following rule appeared in the Census Code :—

“ To secure the enumeration of boats that are not moored at any ghat on the night of the 18th March, the ghat enumerators will have to continue their labours for some time after the date. In the case of the smaller rivers, it will suffice if the enumerators remain at their posts until nightfall on the 19th March, and enumerate the persons on all boats that may arrive there and have not already been enumerated either in their boats or ashore. But on the larger rivers, such as the Ganges, when the wind is favourable boats often pursue their courses for several days without coming to the bank. Here greater precautions will have to be taken, and the enumerators should be instructed to visit their ghats for three days succeeding the census at the times when the river population usually take their meals, i.e., in the early morning, at noon, and after dark, and to enumerate all persons who have not already been enumerated elsewhere, either in their boats or ashore. They should also stop boats which are being towed upstream, unless the men towing them can produce a boat ticket (see Article 8) in proof of their having already been enumerated.”

In the application of it there is considerable risk of double enumeration both on account of enumerators omitting to give boat tickets and on account of boat tickets being lost, and, as in the case of the census of railway passengers, the tendency on the part of local officers to over-elaborate their arrangements has to be guarded against. Boats plying on all but the largest rivers come to the bank without fail, generally at some recognized halting place, at the time for the evening meal and practically all can be caught on the census night. It is quite sufficient if the enumerator returns to his ghat one night following the census to make certain that none escape enumeration.

In the provision for patrol stations there was similar tendency to over-elaboration. The District Census Officer of Malda, for example, had six quite unnecessary patrol stations on the Mahananda River. It would be well in 1931 to name in the Census Code the few rivers in which patrol stations are necessary. They need include no other than the Padma, Jamuna, Meghna above its junction with the Padma and the upper part of the Hooghly. Particularly are patrol stations unnecessary in tidal waters. No boatman thinks of attempting to move against the tide, and this means that every boat without exception ties up somewhere after about six hours' motion. In these circumstances I cancelled elaborate plans for patrol stations in Chittagong, Noakhali, Bakarganj, Khulna and the 24 Parganas. The rules of 1911 provided that patrol stations should be placed at the big rivers at distances of 80—100 miles apart. This distance was reduced to 50 miles in the rules for 1921, and the modification proved suitable. In point of fact it resulted in a system of stations rather under than over fifty miles apart.

The system of patrol stations on the big rivers and their approximate localities were as follows :—

- Hooghly river.—Bolaghar (Hooghly district), Chinsura, Nabadwip.
- Padma river.—Khejuria ghat (Malda district), Lalgola ghat, Char ghat (Rajshahi district), Talbaria (Nadia district), mouth of Garai river, Char Raninagar, Goalundo, Kunder Char, Narsingpur, and patghati (Faridpur district).
- Jamuna river.—Fulchhari, Madarganj, Jagannathganj and Binanai.
- Meghna river.—Azmirganj (Mymensingh district), Bhairab, Baidya Bazar and Haturia.

35. **The Sundarbans.**—The special rules drafted for the census of 1901 and only slightly modified for that of 1911 were again employed in dealing with the Sundarbans and the work was carried out under the control of the Conservator of Forests, Khulna. The enumeration was carried out at the forest stations which are outside the forest area. Schedules were filled up for the occupants of boats going into the forest when permits were taken out. If the boats returned before the census date the entries in the schedules were struck out when the permit was returned for cancellation. The enumeration of such boats was begun in November as they may stay as long as five months in the forest. The Magistrate of Khulna expressed the opinion that the census of the Sundarbans should be placed under the District Census Officer and that every forest station should be included within the charge in





arose over a very large gathering to feed the poor at the Sraddh ceremony of the Raja of Narajol in Midnapore which fell on the final census day, but it was successfully overcome. Plague which so often interferes with census work in other Provinces fortunately does not trouble Bengal in the same way.

### I.—Special enquiries.

38. **Census of hand-looms.**—The census of hand-looms was carried out very successfully. The existence of a loom was recorded in the house list at the time of house-numbering and checked at the time of preliminary enumeration. The novelty of the proceeding aroused considerable enthusiasm in some parts and this was enhanced rather than otherwise by the prominence given to hand spinning and weaving in the "Congress Programme." Looms were distinguished according as they had been made with fly shuttles or not, and the terms used to distinguish them *Tak-takia tant* and *Hath tant* seem to have been generally understood.

39. **Statistics of marriage fertility.**—The attempt to obtain a considerable bulk of statistics regarding marriage fertility and the size of the average family after each number of years of co-habitation between the parents, was not very successful. In spite of the fact that the questions were very simple and had been carefully chosen so as to be likely to offend none, the careful wording of the letter printed on the cover of the books of slips used for the purpose and the fact that the persons asked to help were selected with care, very few were found sufficiently interested in the matter to complete the slips in the books given to them. It cannot be gainsaid that civilization has not yet reached a stage when the country is ripe for such an enquiry.

### J.—The Attitude of the Public.

40. The attitude of the general public towards the census was one of indifference except when the records of caste aroused excitement. There was in general no obstruction and little provocation offered to enumerators except by a few Marwaris and others who held the opinions of Non-Co-operators in Calcutta. Many objected to the record of their castes by the name in common use and a few to the record of their occupations, the Baishnabs of Nabadwip for example refusing to be recorded as beggars and their occupation being ultimately entered as "*Hari nam Kirtan*," singing of the name of Hari. Although followers of the Non-Co-operation movement did not, even before the pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi in favour of co-operation with the census, go to the extent of refusing to give information regarding themselves and their families, and the movement therefore did not in any way vitiate the proceeding of enumerators, there is no doubt that it prompted many who had been selected as Supervisors and enumerators, to discontent at their appointment, specially in towns. In almost every district there were enumerators whose refusal or objection to serve is traceable to Non-Co-operation. Some said so openly, but the large majority took refuge in excuses. A burst of activity in the movement coming after the enumerators had been appointed caused some slight dislocation in the preparations especially in places where it had been intended to employ students. *e.g.*, in Krishnagar and in Calcutta. Trouble was anticipated on the day of the final census in Noakhali for Mr. C. R. Das had arranged to visit the town and hold a meeting on that night. The announcement came only two days before but notices were widely circulated and Charge Superintendents and supervisors especially near railway stations heard that numbers of their enumerators intended to desert and attend the meeting. The District Census Officer approached some of the younger Extremist leaders but was not well received. Later he succeeded in meeting some of the older ones and quoting Mr. Gandhi's *dictum* begged that the meeting might be postponed.

This time he was successful. Mr. Das and party were enumerated at Chittagong Railway Station without difficulty. They had been in Chittagong some days but the census was not mentioned at any of the meetings held nor its progress interfered with. One District Census Officer reports that amusement expressed the attitude of individuals towards the census in some parts, and they got it in attempting to avoid being counted or to be counted more than once, giving foolish answers to questions, etc. This was in Bankura. Such an attitude is not often found in Bengal and is never likely to cause serious trouble as it might in other countries.

### K.—The Industrial Census.

41. There had been an industrial census in 1911 when returns were called for from all owners of factories, etc., employing as many as 20 persons. At the instance of the Department of Industries, the Census Commissioner issued instructions widening both the scope and the extent of this census. Not only was the census extended to all industrial concerns having as many as 10 employees, but a schedule was required to be filled up for each operative showing, if skilled, the particular job in the factory on which he worked, and for skilled and unskilled alike details of sex, age, caste or race, and birth-place. The Industrial Census, therefore, became a much more elaborate one than it had previously been. All the details asked for in 1911, class of industry, products, manner of control, numbers of controlling managing and supervising staff (Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians separately) and nature of mechanical power employed (with figures for the power of each engine) were asked again.

On this occasion a point was made calling the forms to be filled up Industrial Census Returns and not Industrial Census Schedules, so as if possible to avoid the difficulty of 1911 when Charge Superintendents and others at first took the Industrial Schedule to be intended as an alternative to the General Census Schedule, and it does not seem that the same mistake was made anywhere on the present occasion. The Industrial Return was in two parts, one giving the details asked in 1911 for each concern, and the other referring to the census of operatives and giving the name, age, sex, caste and birth-place of each. In tea gardens the general census was done at the hands of the managers' staff and under their control, and it would have been waste of time and have caused a good deal of adverse comment if besides completing the general schedules they had been required to give the same information again in a slightly different form in the Industrial Return. Accordingly managers of tea gardens were not required to fill up the second part of the Industrial Return and the statistics for tea garden coolies were taken from the general schedules. But in the case of other industries, worked largely by persons who do not live on the premises, the full Industrial Return had to be filled up. There was in some parts a good deal of objection on the part of managers who considered that their time was being wasted, and in one locality where the local officers were also, it must be admitted, very slack indeed in getting in the returns, a number of local concerns avoided filling up their returns at all. This was in the coal field in Asansol subdivision and in respect of the collieries there remains a regrettable hiatus in the statistics contained in Table XXII, for which the local officers are to blame. Details of age, sex, caste and birth-place are not available for the employees of 30 collieries with a labour staff estimated at 4,800 persons.

It was realised that a considerable burden was being thrown on managers of large concerns in requiring them to fill up the second part of the return for all their operatives, and two months before the census therefore specimen forms were sent to all managers of large concerns showing what would be required and asking whether they would like to have some assistance from Government clerks. Most of them preferred not to have enquires made round their premises by persons unknown to them, but in a few instances the services of Collectorate clerks were lent for a day or two. It is certain that

the fact that the managers had been approached in this way some time beforehand made for the smooth working of the Industrial Census when the time for it came. In this country such enquiries are a novelty, though in England, for example, managers of Industrial concerns are by this time quite used to them.

The method of distributing and collecting the Industrial Returns had necessarily to be left to the discretion of the local officers. In some places forms were sent to the managers through the Charge Superintendents and collected again by the same agency, but most District Census Officers preferred to send them out, and collect them again, through the post direct from the headquarters' offices of the district. Local officers, with the assistance of Charge Superintendents and Supervisors, were generally able to find out what factories existed, but it was found that lists kept by the Inspectors of Mines and Factories were of little assistance as they included only large concerns of which the local officers already had knowledge. The Factory Registers have been deposited with other census papers of importance in Collectorate Record Rooms and if the Industrial Census is repeated in 1931 they will form the most useful basis for preparing a list of factories in existence at that time. Too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of keeping the Factory Register in each district open for additions to be made to it on information from local officers right up to the time of the census. Additions, especially of brick fields which spring up very fast in February and March in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and the stations on railway radiating from it, must be made as soon as the existence of a freshly discovered factory is reported.

## STATEMENT I.—CENSUS DIVISIONS AND AGENCIES.

DISTRICT OR STATE.	NUMBER OF—			NUMBER OF—			AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSES PER—		
	Charges.	Circles.	Blocks.	Charge Superintendents.	Super-visors.	Enumera-tors.	Charge Superintendents.	Super-visors.	Enumera-tors.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>BENGAL</b> ... ..	<b>1,005</b>	<b>21,153</b>	<b>247,309</b>	<b>987</b>	<b>20,871</b>	<b>241,883</b>	<b>8,485</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>39</b>
British Territory ... ..	957	20,457	243,080	961	20,450	237,359	8,543	448	39
<b>BURDWAN DIVISION</b> ... ..	<b>181</b>	<b>4,022</b>	<b>54,209</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>3,973</b>	<b>52,452</b>	<b>10,272</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>36</b>
Burdwan ... ..	32	789	10,352	32	789	10,352	11,404	463	35
Birbhum ... ..	19	471	6,067	19	471	6,094	10,639	429	33
Bankura ... ..	25	486	6,803	25	463	6,890	8,788	452	32
Midnapore ... ..	44	1,320	18,047	44	1,320	16,463	13,134	438	35
Hooghly ... ..	30	531	7,278	30	531	7,278	8,972	507	37
Howrah ... ..	31	425	5,662	31	394	5,383	7,115	560	41
<b>PRESIDENCY DIVISION</b> ... ..	<b>226</b>	<b>4,208</b>	<b>45,250</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>4,213</b>	<b>46,173</b>	<b>8,390</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>41</b>
24 Parganas ... ..	73	1,313	11,967	72	1,321	11,967	7,429	405	45
Calcutta ... ..	25	267	3,488	24	267	3,488	7,143	642	49
Nadia ... ..	36	865	7,840	39	864	8,763	8,775	396	39
Murshidabad ... ..	34	582	7,217	34	582	7,217	8,134	475	38
Jessore ... ..	33	660	8,645	33	660	8,645	10,401	520	40
Khulna ... ..	25	519	6,093	25	519	6,093	9,904	477	41
<b>RAJSHAHÍ DIVISION</b> ... ..	<b>193</b>	<b>4,454</b>	<b>56,670</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>4,501</b>	<b>52,267</b>	<b>8,560</b>	<b>431</b>	<b>37</b>
Rajshahi ... ..	28	801	9,429	35	801	9,328	8,605	376	32
Dinajpur ... ..	31	672	11,331	31	672	8,310	10,052	464	38
Jalpaiguri ... ..	18	445	4,271	18	445	4,259	11,145	450	47
Darjeeling ... ..	12	213	1,317	12	236	1,774	5,550	282	38
Rangpur ... ..	41	912	11,887	43	905	11,826	10,212	485	37
Bogra ... ..	18	382	5,816	18	382	4,652	10,253	483	40
Pabna ... ..	25	617	7,155	26	639	7,119	9,985	408	37
Malda ... ..	20	412	5,464	20	421	4,999	9,323	443	37
<b>DACOA DIVISION</b> ... ..	<b>220</b>	<b>5,261</b>	<b>58,823</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>5,261</b>	<b>59,542</b>	<b>10,713</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>40</b>
Dacca ... ..	54	1,285	14,892	54	1,285	14,633	10,574	444	39
Mymensingh ... ..	68	1,774	20,915	68	1,774	20,849	12,147	466	40
Faridpur ... ..	47	1,009	10,868	47	1,009	10,868	9,122	425	39
Bakarganj ... ..	51	1,193	13,148	51	1,193	13,192	10,517	450	41
<b>CHITTAGONG DIVISION</b> ... ..	<b>137</b>	<b>2,514</b>	<b>27,128</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>2,502</b>	<b>26,925</b>	<b>8,521</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>42</b>
Tippera ... ..	41	916	12,285	41	916	12,021	11,697	521	40
Noakhali ... ..	30	553	6,533	30	555	6,612	9,025	498	41
Chittagong ... ..	31	666	7,427	31	662	7,427	10,542	494	44
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	35	377	833	23	369	865	1,199	91	39
<b>Bengal States</b> ... ..	<b>48</b>	<b>698</b>	<b>4,229</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>4,524</b>	<b>6,599</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>38</b>
Cooch Behar ... ..	13	319	3,346	13	319	3,232	8,819	352	31
Tripura State ... ..	35	377	693	13	102	1,192	4,376	559	47
<b>SIKKIM</b> ... ..	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>7,388</b>	<b>1,231</b>	<b>23</b>

## STATEMENT II.—

DISTRICT OR STATE	EXEMPTION BOOK COVERS (ONLY OMITTED)				HOUSE LIST BOOKS (ONLY OMITTED)				GENERAL FACTUAL NUMBERS (ONLY OMITTED)			
	Supplied		Used		Supplied		Used		Supplied		Used	
	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL	339	307	322	277	659	323	563	299	5,011	4,729	4,727	4,481
British Territory	330	289	313	282	651	315	547	292	4,922	4,623	4,623	4,407
BURDWAN DIVISION	73	65	65	63	137	74	102	71	1,059	1,024	981	1,005
Burdwan	13	11	12	10	27	16	23	14	230	224	220	194
Baran	8	7	8	7	13	7	13	7	152	152	151	128
Bankura	9	9	6	9	17	9	7	9	179	175	172	169
Midnapore	26	24	22	27	47	24	20	24	575	529	521	514
Hooghly	9	8	9	8	18	10	10	10	152	152	151	149
Howrah	8	6	8	6	13	8	13	7	110	107	106	104
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	56	52	54	54	117	57	87	53	866	824	852	833
24-Parganas	15	14	15	14	29	16	20	15	200	210	207	210
Nadia	11	10	11	10	23	11	21	10	211	197	196	192
Murshidabad	9	11	9	11	18	12	12	13	152	201	190	191
Jessore	11	12	11	12	20	11	21	10	179	190	179	181
Khulna	9	8	8	7	17	9	14	8	131	214	191	214
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	81	68	78	64	163	70	145	61	1,032	856	864	811
Rajshahi	12	12	13	12	27	12	21	12	170	161	162	157
Dinajpur	17	6	14	5	24	6	23	5	171	6	152	47
Jalpalpur	7	6	6	5	12	6	12	5	110	101	100	10
Barisal	3	2	2	2	6	2	6	2	60	31	29	11
Rangpur	15	12	18	14	30	18	21	12	211	201	211	202
Riga	7	6	7	6	14	6	12	6	11	11	10	8
Pabna	14	9	10	9	21	10	21	9	131	102	71	100
Mawa	7	6	7	6	15	10	11	7	100	11	41	32
DAKHA DIVISION	81	80	80	77	167	81	129	78	1,231	1,228	1,228	1,143
Dacca	21	14	20	17	42	15	32	13	111	201	204	101
Mymensingh	27	27	22	21	54	27	47	23	171	172	171	169
Fairly	15	17	14	14	30	17	21	13	151	141	142	131
Tangra	18	18	17	17	31	18	19	12	190	181	180	171
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	36	37	35	31	72	37	61	31	392	371	342	312
Chittagong	16	15	12	11	31	15	21	14	211	211	211	211
Naogaon	8	8	6	6	17	8	15	7	111	111	111	111
Comilla	12	12	12	12	24	12	12	12	171	171	171	171
Barisal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bengal States	8	8	8	8	18	8	18	8	81	81	81	74
Chandpur	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chandpur	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
CHITAGONG	3	2	3	3	6	3	6	3	31	31	31	31

## NUMBER OF FORMS SUPPLIED AND USED.

SCHEDULES.		OTHER FORMS.								
PER 100 HOUSES.		USED.						SUPPLIED.		
Supplied.	Used.	Household schedules.		Boat tickets.		Travellers' tickets.		Household schedules.	Boat tickets.	Travellers' tickets.
1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1921.	1921.
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
54	51	5,653	5,085	74,616	22,907	182,529	80,561	7,535	86,777	199,750
54	50	6,627	5,085	74,389	22,660	178,279	88,751	7,495	86,550	195,500
57	51	1,880	2,473	5,780	3,993	54,500	26,387	1,880	8,550	62,700
58	55	500	684	250	505	15,000	5,877	500	250	15,000
61	60	50	34	...	...	6,500	3,825	50	...	6,500
56	53	30	30	...	...	3,500	1,850	30	...	3,500
56	40	100	15	3,940	845	9,180	6,623	100	5,000	16,700
57	53	200	328	800	1,813	9,000	4,247	200	2,000	9,000
55	54	1,000	1,382	803	830	11,320	3,965	1,000	1,300	12,000
51	50	1,255	1,412	22,256	18,667	54,850	61,364	1,480	23,000	58,300
56	55	1,000	849	7,000	4,850	22,000	24,191	1,200	7,000	22,000
60	56	100	253	1,656	1,717	7,250	9,773	100	2,000	10,000
55	54	80	215	3,700	5,500	16,100	19,700	100	4,000	16,500
52	52	25	45	4,400	1,900	6,200	3,850	30	4,500	6,500
56	56	50	50	5,500	4,700	3,300	1,850	50	5,500	3,300
54	50	2,647	1,200	9,980	...	32,700	1,000	2,850	11,500	37,600
55	55	30	...	1,500	...	6,100	...	30	1,500	6,500
54	51	27	...	2,000	...	6,000	...	30	2,500	6,500
56	55	550	...	...	...	1,300	...	700	...	3,000
61	55	1,290	1,200	...	...	1,600	1,000	1,290	...	1,600
54	52	450	...	1,000	...	10,000	...	450	1,000	12,000
53	53	90	...	480	...	3,700	...	100	500	4,000
53	28	200	...	2,000	...	2,000	...	200	3,000	2,000
54	51	10	...	3,000	...	2,000	...	50	3,000	2,000
53	52	467	...	26,200	...	14,500	...	1,200	27,000	14,700
53	53	300	...	4,500	...	8,500	...	300	5,000	8,500
54	52	67	...	2,700	...	4,000	...	100	3,000	4,000
53	51	50	...	10,500	...	2,000	...	750	10,500	2,000
52	51	50	...	8,500	...	...	...	50	8,500	200
53	50	378	...	10,163	...	21,729	...	385	16,500	22,200
53	53	100	...	5,000	...	11,000	...	100	11,000	7,000
54	41	25	...	971	...	2,866	...	25	1,000	3,200
52	51	250	...	2,900	...	7,400	...	250	3,000	7,500
64	52	8	...	1,292	...	463	...	10	1,500	500
52	51	26	...	227	247	4,250	1,810	40	227	4,250
54	53	16	...	177	247	3,250	1,810	20	50+127	2,500+750
47	47	10	...	50	...	1,000	...	20	50	1,000
159	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...

travellers' tickets.  
forms.  
stock of last census.

## STATEMENT III.—DISTRICT CENSUS CHARGES

*Showing the cost of enumeration in the districts of Bengal as constituted on the 18th of March 1921.*

District.	District office establishment.	House numbering.	Remuneration of Census Officers.	Travelling allowance of Census Officers.	Stationery.	Postage and telegraph.	Freight.	Miscellaneous.	TOTAL.	
									1920-21.	1910-11.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Burdwan ...	...	...	...	...	29 2 0	5 6	41 0 9	417 2 9	492 12 3	3 7 0
Birbhum ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60 13 0	60 13 0	...
Bankura ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	72 12 3	72 12 3	...
Midnapore ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21 7 0	218 2 6	239 9 6	81 0 0
Hooghly ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 2 0	36 2 0	40 4 0	43 5 10
Howrah ...	...	...	...	6 14 0	...	...	7 9 0	76 8 3	90 15 3	...
24 Parganas ...	35 12 3	...	391 10 8	391 10 8	...	...	18 2 3	207 5 3	1,044 9 1	215 14 11
Nadia ...	...	...	...	...	...	200 0	48 2 0	47 13 0	293 15 0	133 4 7
Murshidabad ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58 6 0	...	58 6 0	5 5 6
Jessore ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34 7 0	12 11 6	47 2 6	110 9 6
Khulna ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rajshahi ...	...	...	...	...	1 14 3	...	14 6 9	19 13 3	36 4 3	53 7 0
Dinajpur ...	201 11 5	...	...	...	...	...	24 13 0	141 11 0	363 3 5	21 5 0
Jalpaiguri ...	...	4 0	...	...	...	...	10 6 0	60 2 6	74 8 6	19 0 0
Darjeeling ...	19 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19 0 0	...
Rangpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	242 8 3	242 8 3	31 7 0
Bogra ...	...	...	...	20 4 0	...	...	39 3 0	13 12 0	73 3 0	...
Pabna ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38 0 0	38 0 0	195 3 3
Malda ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 6 0
Dacca ...	...	...	...	...	36 4 3	...	...	403 3 0	439 7 3	111 4 9
Mymensingh ...	210 0 0	...	...	43 14 0	1 12 6	...	148 5 9	202 9 0	606 9 3	128 13 11
Faridpur ...	...	...	...	...	5 7 0	...	24 1 0	118 13 3	148 5 3	271 8 9
Bakarganj ...	...	...	...	29 0 0	...	...	33 0 0	...	62 0 0	58 8 6
Tippera ...	...	...	...	31 13 0	0 4 6	...	120 8 0	176 14 9	329 8 3	13 2 0
Noakhali ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	270 14 0	270 14 0	...
Chittagong ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	81 4 3
Chittagong Hill Tracts.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	486 7 8	4 0	391 10 8	523 7 8	74 13 3	205 8	647 15 6	2,837 13 8	5,151 10 3	1,516 7 8

## CHAPTER II.

### The Compilation of the Results.

42. **A general account of the system.**—The system of compilation followed the lines laid down in 1911 with a few modifications, and a brief summary of it is all that is required. There are three stages of work, viz., slip-copying, sorting and compilation. Slip-copying is the process of copying the entries in the schedules on to slips. A separate slip is used for each of the persons enumerated, but much labour is saved by the use of slips of different colours to indicate religion, of symbols to indicate sex, and of abbreviations for the actual entries in the schedules. As in 1911, the greater part of the slip-copying was carried out in district offices, the slips being sent when ready to the Central Offices, where the sorting and subsequent operations required for the preparation of the final tables were carried out. In the Central Offices arrangements were made for copying the slips of the districts in which they were situated, together with some, or all of the slips for other districts where there were difficulties in the way of getting the work done locally. The Central Offices provided the nucleus of the establishment that was required later for sorting, while the officers in charge became accustomed to the work and to the control of a large staff before the more intricate work of sorting began. Sorting is the process of arranging the slips under the heads required for the various final tables counting the slips as thus arranged, and entering the number on forms provided for the purpose, which are known as sorters' tickets. This operation was followed by compilation, or the process of combining the figures in the sorters' tickets, so as to obtain the totals for the district. The figures were entered in compilation registers, which were despatched, as soon as they were ready, to an office controlled by my Personal Assistant, where a detailed examination of the statistics was carried out, doubtful entries checked and discrepancies inquired into. This work of revision having been completed, the final tables were prepared.

43. **The Central Offices.**—In order to get the work done with the necessary expedition it was necessary to employ some 2,000 men to copy the slips, not including their supervisors and inspectors, and it would obviously have been very difficult to find accommodation for such a staff in one place even if so many could be recruited in a single locality. In point of fact the general arrangement was to complete slip-copying for each district at the district headquarters. In order to obtain accuracy and uniformity in the process of sorting the slips for each table and tabulating the results, closer supervision was necessary, and this was only obtainable by concentrating the work to be done in a smaller number of offices, under a few capable officers. Even this work involved the employment of not less than 800 sorters, and it would have been impossible to arrange for it to be completed in one place. The main difficulty was to obtain adequate accommodation without undue expense in localities in which clerical labour of the requisite quality could be obtained at reasonable rates. Calcutta was out of the question. Accommodation there would have been very extensive and so, too, would have been the clerical labour required. Ultimately five places were chosen, Burdwan, Rajshahi, Dacca, Barisal and Comilla, and a Central Office located at each. At Burdwan some temporary police barracks had just been vacated. A house close by was hired for Rs. 40 a month and room was found in these for the sorters and their supervising staff. At Rajshahi ample space was available in what had been the press sheds of the Settlement office which had just closed down. In Dacca the first arrangement was to use 2 vacant barracks in the cantonments at the Pilkhana 3 miles out, and the Eastern Bengal State Railway authorities gave me to hope that they would be able to stop a train out on the morning and one in to Dacca in the evening at a flag station half a mile away. At the last moment the Traffic Manager said he was unable to do this and



though work was started in the Pilkhana it was found that the attendance was irregular and bad, and the office was moved to a house in the town hired for Rs. 100 a month, which had been the office of the Board of Revenue under the administration of Eastern Bengal and Assam. In Barisal the house which used formerly to be occupied by the District Judge and was later the Cess Revaluation Office, and a smaller building in the Collectorate compound were available. In Comilla what had been the Settlement office which had ample accommodation was used. Burdwan, Barisal, Comilla and Dacca are excellent places for obtaining clerical labour. Rajshahi is not so good in this respect, but there was a useful nucleus of Settlement clerks who had not yet left the place, and Northern Bengal generally is much more capable of supplying clerical labour than it used to be. Three of the five offices were located close together in Eastern Bengal, although it is on the whole easier to obtain clerical labour in the Western Bengal districts away from Calcutta, mainly for the reason that Eastern Bengal is so much healthier and the class from which the staff was recruited is very prone to malaria. It was most important to be able to rely on regular attendance unbroken by the ill health of the staff during the time of sorting the slips, for the work is not such that a substitute can easily take up sorting half done by a man who has fallen ill. My greatest anxiety was that it might not be possible to recruit a sufficiently large and capable staff locally in Rajshahi, but with the help of the Settlement clerks and with the best of the five Deputy Superintendents in charge of that office no such difficulty was experienced. Fever interfered with the progress in the Burdwan office at times, but on the whole the sites for the Central Offices proved well chosen, and it was a great score only having to pay Rs. 40 a month as rent in Burdwan and Rs. 100 in Dacca and getting the accommodation elsewhere rent-free.

Even for the office in which the final tables were prepared and the work of compilation in the 5 Central Offices checked, an office with a staff of 50, it was impossible to find accommodation in Calcutta. In 1911 a large room now used by the Secretariat Press in Writers' Buildings was used for this purpose, but this time there was nothing for it but to locate this office at Dacca in part of the old Settlement office and it worked there in charge of my Personal Assistant. Only one room in Writers' Buildings, that which had been occupied by the permanent Census establishment and its records during the intercensal period, was available, and in that only some 7 clerks could be accommodated who dealt with correspondence and prepared fair copies of tables for the press and certain subsidiary tables for the census reports. That office was controlled by my Head Assistant. With so little of the work able to be done in Calcutta, I was permitted by Government to making my headquarters at Darjeeling and I did so from April 1921 onwards till the work was finished.

### Slip-copying.

#### 44. **Introductory.**—Suggestions for getting the census slips copied—

- (a) by the enumerators,
- (b) in schools, and
- (c) in offices each dealing with only such a division of the district as a thana,

were considered before it was decided to adhere to the plan of 1911 and to have the slips generally copied at the district headquarters. The difficulty in the way of all the three suggestions noted above are in connection with the distribution of the requisite supply of slips (a great deal of waste would be unavoidable), in the distribution of the remuneration for the copying and most of all in the dissemination of instructions and obtaining uniformity. The object of all the suggestions was to get the work done as rapidly as possible in order that sorting and tabulation could be taken up. In the Punjab

I believe a successful arrangement was made by which the slips for each *tahsil* were copied locally under the auspices of the *tahsildars*, but conditions are different in Bengal where there is no corresponding revenue agency. The only local agency which could have been roped in would have been the police who already complain that the census adds much to the burden of their work, and who would not, in the political atmosphere of to-day, have got willing workers to take employment for few days under them. The schools are not always conveniently located, and it was doubtful whether either boys or masters could have been trusted with the schedules, which could not have been replaced if any of them had been lost; and there would undoubtedly have been much adverse criticism in the direction of accusing Government of making an unauthorised use of the boys' and masters' time even if it paid for it. The enumerators might have copied the slips well enough, but they were already too prone to grumble and might have made a grievance of being required to do something more than they had done at former censuses. The political atmosphere was electric and a handle would certainly have been made of such an innovation to produce discontent among them.

45. **The location of slip copying offices.**—Even at the district headquarters it was by no means easy to find accommodation. Collectorate offices are usually very full and only in one instance in Khulna was a public hall put to use for slip-copying. If unrest in the country has died down to some extent by 1931, some attempt might be made to obtain permission to utilise the accommodation afforded by public halls of which several towns in Bengal now have one each. On the present occasion the only possible accommodation in some districts was upon the verandas of the Collector's office, though decent accommodation was available in others, *e.g.*, in Chittagong (the old Kotwali building) in Jalpaiguri (in a vacant building in the Collectorate office compound), in Darjeeling (2 rooms in the Deputy Commissioner's office), Bankura (2 rooms in the Collectorate), Berhampore (part of the Collectorate), Cooch Behar, Dinajpur (the old Faujdari building), Hooghly (two rooms on the ground floor of the Collectorate), Alipore (part of one of the Collectorate buildings), Suri (2 rooms in the Collectorate). No accommodation at all could be found at Bogra, Howrah or Noakhali and none in Calcutta. The slips for Howrah were copied at the Central Office in Burdwan and those for Bogra at Rajshahi along with the Rajshahi slips, or rather afterwards for there was considerable delay owing to the District Census Officer of Bogra or some clerk having sent the schedules by goods train *via* Parbatipur, Katihar and Godaguri instead of by the quickest possible route. The slips for the Sadar subdivision of Noakhali were copied with those for Tripura State and Tippera district at the Central Office at Comilla and those for Feni subdivision with those for Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong district at Chittagong. The schedules for the Sadar, Kurseong and Kalimpong subdivisions of Darjeeling district were in the Khas Kura (Eastern Paharia language) and were copied and the entries at the same time translated into English in Darjeeling, while the slips for Siliguri subdivision in which Bengali schedules were used were copied in Jalpaiguri. Accommodation was very difficult to arrange at Rangpur and to save congestion the slips for Nilphamari subdivision were copied at Jalpaiguri. It was known that it would be difficult to recruit copyists in Alipore and no more were taken there than there was ample room to accommodation. The slips for Barasat and Basirhat subdivisions of the 24-Parganas were copied at Khulna and those for Calcutta City in the Central Office in Barisal. What might have been a serious disaster, happened at Faridpur where copyists worked in a veranda of the Collectorate enclosed by mat walls. A hurricane swept the matting down but fortunately not until the schedules had been removed to safety inside a room. After this experience the copyists were moved into a vacant Munsif's court room in the Judge's Court building.

Statement No. 1 at the end of the chapter shows the number of slips copied at each place, the number of copyists, dates of beginning and finishing the work and the average daily outturn per man.

46. **Pay and outturn of copyists.**—Copyists were paid at 6 pice per 100 slips in 1911, and the rate was raised generally to 9 pice in 1920. Ten pice was

paid to copyists working in Alipore on account of the high cost of living in the suburbs of Calcutta. Eleven pice per 100 slips was paid for copying for the Calcutta schedules about a third of which were in English while the rest contained long entries of occupation and showed other difficulties. Three annas was paid in Darjeeling to the copyists who had to translate from Khas Kura into English. The average daily outturn was highest in Midnapore 679 slips per man per day and Bankura 670. There the average earnings for a month's work of 26 days was Rs. 23-3-0. Except for the copying of the slips for Darjeeling, Sikkim and Calcutta for which special rates were paid the average outturn per man fell below 500 a day only in Nadia, Khulna, Dacca and Chittagong, and an outturn of 500 a day in a month of 26 days meant an earning of Rs. 18-4-0 for the month. As on former occasions the outturn was very poor at first before the copyists got the hang of the work, learnt the authorized abbreviations, etc., and there was a good deal of discontent at first with the piece rates which had been fixed. Strikes were promulgated in the first few days of working in Jessore, Alipore, Nadia and Bankura which, though they do not seem to have been directly attributable to the activities of the Non-Co-operators, were a reflection of the spirit of the times. Firm handling and the fact that those who returned to work found that they could very quickly attain a better outturn, quickly broke them and there is little doubt that the copyists were on the whole satisfied with their pay. Slip-copying work had to be done at a time when the Matriculation Examination was just finished and candidates were waiting for the results before going on with their studies. Consequently there were a number of boys in almost every town who were glad of something to do by means of which they could earn a little money, and almost all the best copyists were persons of this class. Some of them attained a surprising facility. One in Dinajpur actually copied 2,579 slips in a day, one in Rangpur kept up an average of 1,187 for the time he worked and in Burdwan one gang of 10 men worked their average outturn up to 904 slips a day towards the end, while in Faridpur a man earned Rs. 50-14-9 in a month and one in Khulna Rs. 46-0-6.

It was a mistake to attempt to do any slip-copying at Alipore. The level of intelligence of those who came to work was very low and they were generally the slackers of families the other members of which had obtained regular employment. Their average outturn was only 421 slips per man per day. Eleven pice per 100 slips was really not enough to pay slip-copyists for the Calcutta schedules which proved very difficult to deal with. They were often badly written, caste names were often ones the copyists had never heard of and so were the occupations returned, and much time was taken up in getting the Supervisor or an inspector to decipher the entries. A fair remuneration for copying the Calcutta slips, English as well as Bengali, would have been 14 pice per 100. In almost every district there are a few household schedules in English, but there is no need to make special arrangements for them. If none of the copying gang knows English the Supervisor will be able to find time to copy those few slips himself. When whole blocks are in English it may be necessary to give the work to a selected copyist who knows English, and extra pay had to be given for instance to the copyists who dealt with the schedules for Kharagpur Railway Settlement all of which were in English in spite of orders to the contrary.

Slip-copying was very well done as well as very expeditiously done in the Western Bengal districts and a very satisfactory type of man was recruited. The difficulty of finding men to do the work was less in Northern Bengal than was expected, and my successor in 1931 need, I think, have no anxiety as to the possibility of getting men to do work at any district headquarters in the Province, except Chittagong Hill Tracts. In April and May there is not likely to be much difficulty over irregular attendance in Western Bengal districts on account of fever, but the case is different when the work is to continue as the work of sorting in a Central Office must continue till the end of the rains.

**47. Supply of slips.**—There was a certain anxiety over the supply of slips and though it generally proved that those in charge of slip-copying offices exaggerated the danger of running short of slips of a particular category.

because copyists insisted on having each a supply of slips for Animists, Christians and others which they only had to use very unfrequently. The original provision underestimated the number of widowed persons and the supply of Animists' slips was not quite as much as it should have been. The large number of widowed persons was a direct result of the high death-rates in the last 3 years of the decade and particularly the influenza epidemic, and had not been foreseen, while the Animists' immigration proved not to have fallen off as much as I had anticipated. The provision of rubber stamps for altering the symbol for male or female, unmarried, married or widowed proved very useful, and should be repeated, while green slips for Animists and red slips for Christians are easily manufactured from others by dipping slips in green or red ink. The arrangement by which brown paper slips were used for Muhammadans and *badami* slips for Hindus did not prove satisfactory. It was made to save money, but brown paper should not be used again. It is too much like *badami* paper in colour, and is too rough. The writing on the slips was difficult to make legible for this reason. My successor will be well advised to use white paper for Hindus and *badami* for Muhammadans.

48. **Furniture.**—There were complaints from parents of boy copyists who had been used to desks in schools against the arrangement of working on the floor, but it is really the most natural attitude for writing in this country to squat on the floor and the expense of providing desks would have been prohibitive. I cannot lay too much stress on the importance of having everything ready for slip-copying before the actual census and would warn my successor that the expenditure shown in treasury accounts upon furniture must not be taken as a guide to the real cost, for though the District Officers billed correctly, the Accountant-General did not keep his accounts accurately in respect of the distribution of contingent expenditure under correct sub-heads.

49. **The rules regarding slip-copying in Part II of the Census Code.**—The rules provided in the Census Code for the conduct of slip-copying proved very satisfactory and I have no change to suggest except that provision might have been made in Part II, Chapter I, rule 18, that the slips of each block should be kept together (though not tied up separately) in the bundles for each Circle. This saves a good deal of trouble at the time of receipt and counting of the slips in the Central Offices.

It may appear that the limitation of authorized abbreviations was too strict, *vide* section 10, Chapter II, Part II, of the Census Code, but though one or two of the officers in charge of the slip-copying offices made this criticism the Deputy Superintendents in charge of the Central Offices where the sorting was done did not agree with them. To my mind it is most important to keep the authorized abbreviations few in number and to insist on no others being used. One example will show the danger. बग for Bagdi and क for Kayastha look exactly the same when written fast. The Code permitted बग to be used only in Burdwan Division and क only in Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, and a great deal of confusion resulted from both being used without authority in the same district.

50. **Bad work in Mymensingh.**—The work of slip-copying was badly done in only one district (Mymensingh), and this was due to nothing but slackness on the part of the District Census Officer. He allowed rules to be broken, schedules to be taken away by the copyists to their homes and copied at night by themselves or members of their family, Supervisors to shirk the comparison which was required by the rules and so on. How far the copyists got out of hand and were able to rely on avoiding the proper check of their copying was shown by the fact that some had the impertinence to fill columns with indecencies and this was not discovered till the slips reached the Central Office in Dacca. I put the sole responsibility on the District Census Officer and brought the matter to the notice of the District Magistrate. The work of the Dacca Central Office was very much delayed owing to the necessity for comparing the

slips of many Circles in Mymensingh again with the schedules. I have mentioned this matter at length that my successor may realize how great is the importance of having a District Census Officer who gives his best energies to the control of the temporary staff engaged in slip-copying.

**51. Supervising staff.**—The arrangements outlined in the Census Code for giving the Supervisors assistance in comparing when the outturn increases, worked very satisfactorily and 10 men to the gang proved the right number. The Supervisors were paid Rs. 30 per month. Assistant Supervisors Rs. 25 and infirmity slip-copyists Rs. 22-8-0. These rates proved sufficient. Very few men were lent from Collectorate offices to act as Supervisors, and they generally proved unsatisfactory. The work was too hard for them compared with their ordinary routine work and the allowance did not tempt them. Generally speaking Settlement men proved far the better workers even in such posts as record-keeper, and I am very much indebted to the recruits who came from the Settlement Department for the excellent work they did.

Some Inspectors were lent from the Collectors' offices but they did not put their heart into their work and were found less useful than those directly recruited. Most of these were young graduates who had just finished their education and had not yet found permanent employment. With hardly a single exception they did excellently. Their pay was generally from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 according to qualifications.

**52. Registers and forms.**—The colour of paper for the slips has already been referred to. No comment is necessary upon the other forms except that Register D should be enlarged to include columns for unmarried, married and widowed under each sex and religion.

**53. Bills for piece work.**—The Census Superintendent was empowered by the Government of India to make appointments on salaries up to Rs. 250 per month, but the Accountant-General demurred at the arrangement of piece rates, and after some discussion it was decided by him that the bills must be countersigned by the Census Superintendent, which threw the responsibility for the correctness of the calculations upon which the total of each bill was arrived at, upon his shoulders instead of its check being part of the audit. The arrangement for drawing the bills on the 15th of the month was copied from the procedure of the Settlement Department, designed to spread the work of office accountants more evenly over the month. The bills for fixed pay staff were drawn at the beginning of the month and the amounts paid out, before the bills for the piece work staff had to come in. The division of responsibility between the Officer drawing the bill and the gang Supervisor by the working of section 19 of Chapter II, Part II, of the Code, proved satisfactory.

### Sorting.

**54. The distribution of the work among the Central Offices.**—The slips for the several parts of the Province were dealt with in the Central Offices as follows:—

Central Office.	District dealt with.					Population.
Burdwan	...	Burdwan	...	...	...	1,438,926
		Birbhum	...	...	...	847,570
		Bankura	...	...	...	1,019,941
		Midnapore	...	...	...	2,666,660
		Hooghly	...	...	...	1,080,142
		Howrah	...	...	...	997,403
		Murshidabad	...	...	...	1,262,514
		Total	...	...	...	9,313,156

Central Office	District dealt with.				Population.
Rajshahi	...	...	Rajshahi	...	1,489,675
			Dinajpur	...	1,705,353
			Jalpaiguri	...	936,269
			Rangpur	...	2,507,854
			Bogra	...	1,048,606
			Pabna	...	1,389,494
			Cooch Behar	...	592,489
			Siliguri subdivision of Darjeeling	...	75,787
			Total	...	10,745,527
Dacca	...	...	Dacca	...	3,125,967
			Mymensingh	...	4,837,730
			Total	...	7,963,697
Barisal	...	...	Calcutta	...	907,851
			24-Parganas	...	2,628,205
			Khulna	...	1,453,034
			Bakarganj	...	2,623,756
			Sadar, Kurseong and Kalimpong sub-divisions of Darjeeling	...	206,961
			Sikkim	...	81,721
			Total	...	7,901,528
Comilla	...	...	Nadia	...	1,487,572
			Jessore	...	1,722,219
			Faridpur	...	2,249,858
			Tippera	...	2,743,073
			Nonkhali	...	1,472,786
			Chittagong	...	1,611,422
			Chittagong Hill Tracts	...	173,243
			Tripura State	...	304,437
			Total	...	11,764,610

This distribution was determined on a number of different considerations. If the work of every part of the Province had been equally difficult, the capacity of the Deputy Superintendents to have charge of the 5 offices the same, accommodation ample in each, and an equally good class of men available to do the work of sorting in each place, it would have been the best plan to divide the work equally between the 5 offices. The distribution was as originally intended except that a larger office was expected to be located at Dacca. When however the move from the Pilkhana to the town proved necessary there was not sufficient accommodation to provide for the work of Murshidabad and Nadia to be done at Dacca as originally intended, but the Provisional total for Burdwan Division proved so much less than the population of 1911 that it was possible to send the slips for Murshidabad to Burdwan, while the slips for Nadia had to go to Comilla where there was plenty of room. Accommodation was limited at Barisal but a good class of recruit was available there and so as to give the Deputy Superintendent his fair share of the work, the difficult work of Calcutta and the Darjeeling and Sikkim Hills for which the slips were in English was sent to Barisal. Darjeeling district was divided because the Bengali schedules for Siliguri subdivision had been sent to Jalpaiguri to be copied and the slips could conveniently be sent with the Jalpaiguri slips to Rajshahi. The slips for the Darjeeling Hills were not sent to Rajshahi because the standard of

recruit to be got there was not expected to be high and the Deputy Superintendent already had a heavy task. The most junior of the Deputy Superintendents, Babu Phanindra Nath Mukherjee, was placed at Dacca which office had the lightest task of the five. The most senior Babu S. C. Ghatak was placed at Comilla.

It was hoped that all the offices would finish work about the same time, but the strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway and in the Steamer Services deranged the plan. The Comilla office had to receive slips for a number of districts and not only slips but boxes and pigeon-hole sets, and these could not be got through until the Steamer and Railway Services were in partial working order again. The Comilla office could not get to work at all on the slips for some districts until the beginning of August, though the office staff did not attempt to strike in spite of the state of feeling in the town. There was, however, a strike among the sorters at Barisal which the activities of the Non-Co-operators had some share in fomenting.

**55. Suitability of the arrangements, and mention of the Deputy Superintendents.**—That the Rajshahi office finished work earlier than any other was the result of the very capable management of Babu Rames Chandra Sen, Deputy Collector, who was the Deputy Superintendent in charge. He had had many years' experience in the Settlement Department which gives a man a training in the control of a considerable temporary staff which a Deputy Magistrate working in the general line does not obtain. My successor would do well to obtain the services of experienced Assistant Settlement Officers to fill the post of Deputy Superintendents as far as he is able to do so. Apart from the fact that they are likely to prove the most capable in office control, there are always many settlement clerks who will be glad to come and work under officers they know and who will prove far more useful than the average recruit that will be obtained. The Burdwan office finished second. Babu Kshirod Lal Mukherjee, the Deputy Superintendent in charge, suffered from ill health towards the end of his deputation and the accuracy as well as the promptness of finishing off the compilation suffered along with him, but he managed the office well during the early stages. The Dacca office was delayed by the necessity of frequent references to the original schedules of Mymensingh to correct errors committed in slip-copying which has already been mentioned as having been very badly done. Babu Phanindra Nath Mukherjee worked very hard and though a junior acquitted himself well as Deputy Superintendent. Babu Hiranya Kumar Das Gupta who was in charge of Barisal office would have been able to finish much earlier than he did but for the fact that he was entrusted with the preparation of the final tables for Calcutta City and Suburbs, which have been published in a separate Tables Volume. The arrangement relieved my Personal Assistant's office in Dacca considerably and enabled the Bengal Tables to be completed earlier than would otherwise have been the case. I commend the plan to my successor. He will find it an improvement, however, to arrange to have Howrah district dealt with in the same Central Office as Calcutta and the 24-Parganas, and may leave the Deputy Superintendent of that office to complete the final tables for the Calcutta volume. It is of course necessary to send them for comparison with the Bengal Tables referring to Calcutta, before they go to the press. The Comilla office was rather too large. It was not intended that it should have Nadia to deal with and its work was seriously delayed by the Steamer and Railway strikes. Mr. S. C. Ghatak, the Deputy Superintendent in charge, worked very hard and did his best to make up lost ground but was unable to do so.

I arranged for the deputation of a Settlement Kanungo to act as Assistant Superintendent in each Central Office from June until the Puja holiday. The Settlement Department has little or no work for some of its Kanungos during this period and can easily lend the services of a few. They are experienced in handling temporary staff and proved very useful indeed, and more reliable than Inspectors, who were very keen but young and inexperienced. They were some of the young graduates whose services had been used in the larger slip-copying offices..



56. **Inspections.**—I spent some days in each Central Office, and, before compilation registers began to come to him, so did my Personal Assistant, Khan Sahib Abdul Jalil Khan, and both of us found we were able to spend the time very usefully. My main object was to obtain uniformity of method between one office and another and to see that the importance of small details was realized in each office. Every one of the offices were found to have missed certain small points and some offices had adopted one or two innovations of their own; some of which were worth passing on to other offices, and some of which had to be discarded. On such inspections a mechanical adding machine was taken round and a good deal of arithmetical checking was done, but the most useful way of spending the time of inspection was to watch the sorters at their work on the different tables.

57. **Sorting units.**—Government decided on this occasion to give up the Revenue Thana as the unit for which to give separate figures in Provincial Tables I and II and for the purposes of sorting as well as for these two tables the jurisdiction of the police-station became the unit. But the Department of Public Health wanted statistics in the form of Table VII in manuscripts for the large towns and it was arranged to make the towns of Bhatpara, Serampore, Titagarh, Burdwan, Hooghly-Chinsura, Chittagong, Narainganj, South Barrackpore, Santipur, Berhampore, Baranagor, Bhadreswar and Midnapore separate sorting units as well as keeping Calcutta and its suburbs separate.

Each separate ward of Calcutta City and each suburban municipality should be made a separate sorting unit as it is very useful to be able to get at statistics on all subjects for each ward separately when writing the report for the City. The Deputy Superintendent of Barisal recommends for Calcutta the advisability of keeping the slips (a) Indian Christians, (b) Anglo-Indians, and (c) Europeans separate throughout the process of sorting, so that each lot may be given to a sorter specially qualified to deal with them.

58. **Making up boxes for sorting.**—The instruction for making up boxes for sorters given in section 6, Chapter II, of the Census Code, proved satisfactory, but the example given at the end of the section is not very well chosen. In it, each box is shown as containing the same number of slips. There is no need to aim at this. The two boxes given to the one sorter need not be the same size or even approximately the same size and in some ways it is convenient to have one larger than the other. If a suitable arrangement is to put 20,000 slips or even more in one and 10,000 or less in the other there is not the least objection to this. In such a case as that of the example the following would have been a better arrangement than that given in the Code:—

For 1st Sorter	...	Box 1	Musalman Males	...	Circles	1—40	21,000
		Box 2	Hindu Females	...	"	1—15	13,500
For 2nd Sorter	...	Box 3	Musalman Females	...	"	1—40	21,500
		Box 4	Hindu Males	...	"	1—15	13,000
For 3rd Sorter	...	Box 5	Hindu Males	...	"	16—40	16,000
		Box 6	Hindu Females	...	"	16—40	16,000

59. **Counting the slips.**—The sorters and their supervisors are naturally anxious to set to work on the sorting as soon as possible after getting their boxes of slips made over to them and are inclined to slur over the process of counting the slips in them and comparing with Register A. But the process is most important and if it is not done with the greatest care trouble ensues later. The record-keeper entered the number of slips in pencil on Form H, the label on the box. In one instance in Rajshahi he wrote by mistake 21 thousand odd, instead of 23 thousand odd. The sorter counted and found himself 2,000 out, but to avoid the trouble of adjusting the difference he hid 2,000 slips among his clothes in a box of his own, and sorted for Table VII. The results were entered in the sorter's ticket, but the record-keeper refused to accept it, because the total was 2,000 less than his register showed, and it was only after much trouble had been gone through that the sorter confessed what he had done and produced the missing slips. In 1931 it will be well



the last census for each district, to prescribe lists of occupations for the first sorting for this table for use by other gangs. If, however, he prepares and supplies the sorters with a bad list he will have done far more harm than good. For dealing with Calcutta slips or the slips for other towns, especially in the industrial area, the Deputy Superintendent can obtain much help by consulting some one who knows the locality and can say how occupations are commonly described. There is one important advantage in having lists prescribed for the first and second sortings for Table XVII. It is that it enables the sorters to fill up the sorters' tickets with the occupations in the same order throughout a district. Having the entries thus entered is a great score when it comes to tabulating the results.

There is a special procedure detailed in section 17 of Chapter IV, Part II, of the Census Code, for dealing with the classification of entries of occupations. There is no great hurry to deal at once with doubtful entries of occupation as for doubtful entries of caste, language and birth-place, for the slips remain bundled according to occupations when the sorting work of the office is finished, and the slips can be found and referred to at any subsequent time. In the case of doubtful entries of caste, etc., it is very difficult to get hold of the slips, once sorting for another table has been begun and for that reason it is most important that Inspectors and the Deputy Superintendent should at once dispose of doubtful entries for the earlier tables as soon as they come to light, or if they do not, that they should at least take full notes of entries in other columns than that in which the entry appears. While any of these remain undisposed of they should not turn their attention to doubtful entries of occupation. The instructions which had been issued warning enumerators and Supervisors of enumeration against vague entries produced an improvement in the schedules for rural areas in the matter of precision, but the Calcutta enumerators did very badly in this matter, and before the census of Calcutta in 1931 it would be useful to distribute to enumerators a comprehensive list of samples of entries of a sort which they must avoid. The most frequent of such vague entries were *Chakuri* and *Byabasha*. These appeared in thousands, but there were a great many more. Enumerators thought they had obtained precision when they put a man down as a "cashier," "accountant," "weighman," "contractor," "tally clerk," "engine man," etc. Such descriptions show what work the man does but they are no use for census purposes because they do not show in what sort of a concern the work is done. Enough precision is not obtained unless the entries are, for instance "cashier in a bank," "accountant in a hotel," "weighman in a jute godown," "building contractor," "railway tally clerk," "engine man in a jute mill," etc. *Dainik majur* is in some cases an unavoidable entry, for there are large numbers prepared to fetch and carry for any one in any business or in the streets who could not describe their occupation much more accurately. In such cases the enumerator should be instructed to ask a coolie what work he happened to have done that day and enter accordingly. There are a number of entries hardly less troublesome to deal with. "*Pat kãle kaj kare*" was a very common entry but it was impossible to discover whether the man worked in a jute mill or a jute press and the separation of workers in jute presses and workers in jute mills was a complete failure in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. "*Docke kaj kara*" was an equally difficult entry to dispose of.

The instructions made a great point of insisting that the sorters must not attempt to classify in dealing with Table XVII. This is of very great importance. But the men were so impressed by these instructions in respect of Table XVII that they were inclined to treat Table XVIII and Table XXI in the same way. The instructions might have explained that, whereas for Table XVII every occupational entry is to be interpreted in its narrowest sense or rather no interpretation or classification by the sorters is permitted at all, for Tables XVIII and XXI occupational entries are to be interpreted in their widest sense and sorters are to do their best to classify entries in one of the prescribed classes if they can do so.

Table XVIII was prepared only for those who returned themselves plainly as rent receivers (*bisnoy bhogi*), rent payers (*praja*), and field labourers (*krishi majur*). It is impossible to wait for the classification of doubtful entries which might prove to belong to one of these classes, and in Bengal the number of regular farm servants is very small. It might, however, be well on another occasion for Table XVIII to place the slips with the entry "*Krishi chakar*" along with those with the entry "*Krishi majur*."

64. **Table XIX.**—Table XIX was an optional table. The Census Commissioner left it to Provincial Superintendents to prepare it or not as they liked. In Bengal it was prepared in a form which was intended to make it the converse of Table XVIII. The latter shows the subsidiary occupations of agriculturists and Table XIX as prepared in Bengal shows the numbers engaged in the most important industries, as well as the traders in jute; who returned subsidiary occupations in agriculture. The Code was printed before the arrangement for Table XVIII was decided upon, and does not contain the working instructions which, however, are on the back of the form of sorter's ticket in Bengali. In point of fact subsidiary occupations were so seldom entered or so carelessly entered in the schedules as to show it a mere waste of time to prepare tables XVIII and XIX at all and I am strongly of opinion that the entry of subsidiary occupations should be given up altogether.

65. **Forms and Registers.**—The ink fades quickly on Label H, and it is a good plan, adopted in the Central Offices but not prescribed in the rules, to mark the numbers of the boxes on them with tar or some such materials. The instructions to sorters for each table were done into Bengali by me and printed on the backs of all the sorters' tickets on this occasion. The plan is a good one, and the translations proved intelligible and sufficiently precise. It might have been possible to keep the sorters' tickets for Tables X, XI and XIII tidier if there had been 3 columns for figures, the first to be filled up by the sorter, the second for the figures of doubtful entries classified after the first column had been filled up, and the third for the revised figures.

### Compilation.

66. At former censuses a great deal of unnecessary labour and expense was involved in double compilation. None of this was done on this occasion. The Central Offices were responsible for the compilation, and the Deputy Superintendents were required to apply all possible tests to ensure its accuracy. The most useful of all the tests is the balance of the sexes, and the forms of compilation registers were all arranged so that this test could be applied without the necessity of referring to any page but that open before the person who was applying it. This was carefully explained, but even so, on inspection, I found that in one office the Compilation Registers for Table VII had been bound at the side instead of at the top which made it impossible to apply the test without turning a page over. The Compilation Registers of 1911 which were available were sent out to Central Offices and were used for comparing with the new ones, but unfortunately some had been eaten by white ants in Writers' Buildings during the decade, for the census records were housed on the ground floor in a room whose walls were full of these creatures. It is hoped that their proposed location in the new combined office of the Director of Surveys and Land Records will give them more satisfactory accommodation. The old Compilation Registers could not be used as freely for comparison with the new as they might have been if they had not contained statistics according to Revenue Thanas. The Arithmetical checks were applied carefully in the Central Offices and the mistakes found later generally remained undetected in the Central Offices only because the Compilation Registers for earlier tables had been forwarded to my Personal Assistant before those for subsequent tables were ready so that comparison between the two in the Central Offices was not possible. It is important that none but the Deputy Superintendent himself should attempt to apply tests of intrinsic

probability as to the correctness or incorrectness of the statistics. The arrangement by which the entries of thana names were printed on slips of paper to be pasted over columns 1 and 2 of the Compilation Register is an excellent one, but a little difficulty arose because the horizontal rulings in the Compilation Register forms for one or two of the tables were not exactly the same distance apart as in the other Registers. My successor will do well to see that this is arranged for in printing the Compilation Register forms for 1931.

### Tabulation of the Results and Miscellaneous.

67. **The final Tables.**—The arrangement, by which an office was located at Dacca under the control of my Personal Assistant in which the compilation registers were checked and the final tables prepared, may not found a satisfactory one, but in point of fact it worked very well. I had had Khan Sahib Abdul Jalil Khan working under me as Headquarters' Assistant Settlement Officer at Comilla for 3 years previously, had known him some time before that as a field officer and knew how far he could be trusted and what were his limitations. There was no hope of obtaining accommodation in Calcutta for an office of any size, and not only would it have been expensive to place the office in Darjeeling, for clerks would have required to be paid substantial allowances, but they would certainly not have worked well there during the cold weather. The office in Dacca was able to obtain the services of a number of Settlement clerks who formed the backbone of the staff, and its head ministerial officer was Babu Samatul Chandra Datta Choudhuri who had filled the same post in Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1911 and has now entered the Income Tax Department. All the Compilation Registers with the sorters' tickets were sent to Dacca as soon as they were ready and there they were checked and the final tables prepared. The same office dealt with Table XXII *ab initio*. The original Industrial Census Returns and Factory Registers were sent there, the slips copied, and the procedure of Chapter V of the Census Code, Part II, carried out according to the instructions which proved adequate. This work gave the office employment up till the time when Compilation Registers began to come in, but my Personal Assistant had time during this period to inspect the larger slip-copying offices, at a time when I was incapacitated from doing so by having to undergo an operation, and later on the Central Offices.

The work of preparing the subsidiary tables for the Report was divided. A few Sub-Tables, for Chapters I, I.A., VII, VIII, IX and X for Chapters V, and VI for Chapters VI and VII for Chapter XII of the Report for Bengal were prepared by me in Darjeeling as well as the tables which appear in the body of the Report. The rest were divided between the Dacca office and the small office in Calcutta. The former prepared all the subsidiary tables which contained statistics for 1921 only and supplied to the latter office figures for 1921 to go into subsidiary tables containing statistics for more than one census. The Calcutta office completed these as well as all the Subsidiary Tables for the Calcutta Report.

Throughout I obtained much assistance from Babu Harendra Krishna Mitra, Head Assistant in the Permanent Census office, who had filled the same position in 1901 and 1911 and is now on the point of retiring.

STATEMENT I.—COPYING OF SLIP.

OFFICE.	Population dealt with.	COPYISTS EMPLOYED.		DATE OF—		Average daily outturn.
		Maximum.	Average.	Commencement.	Completion.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>BURDWAN DIVISION</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burdwan ... ..	2,436,329	106	92	21st March 1921 ...	21st May 1921 ...	518
Birbhum ... ..	847,570	46	44	23rd " " " ...	7th " " " ...	388
Bankura ... ..	1,019,911	45	41	21st " " " ...	13th " " " ...	670
Midnapore ... ..	2,666,600	110	103	29th " " " ...	21st June " " ...	672
Hooghly ... ..	1,030,112	56	46	25th " " " ...	31st May " " ...	324
<b>PRESIDENCY DIVISION</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
24-Parganas ... ..	1,592,199	70	61	29th March 1921 ...	2nd July 1921 ...	421
Nadia ... ..	1,487,372	60	56	23th " " " ...	15th June " " ...	462
Murshidabad ... ..	1,262,511	55	48	1st April " " " ...	10th " " " ...	625
Jessore ... ..	1,722,219	70	69	27th March " " " ...	11th " " " ...	659
Khulna ... ..	2,159,040	100	79	24th " " " ...	3rd " " " ...	420
<b>RAJSHAHI DIVISION</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rajshahi ... ..	2,538,261	178	138	21st March 1921 ...	21st April 1921 ...	548
Dinajpur ... ..	1,705,353	70	69	22nd " " " ...	27th May " " ...	526
Jalpaiguri ... ..	1,913,941	70	45	1st April " " " ...	25th June " " ...	575
Darjeeling ... ..	218,719	20	19	25th March " " " ...	19th " " " ...	217
Rangpur ... ..	1,391,203	80	70	7th April " " " ...	10th " " " ...	522
Pabna ... ..	1,389,194	60	58	25th March " " " ...	26th May " " ...	563
Maldah ... ..	985,665	40	37	21st " " " ...	10th June " " ...	500
<b>DACCA DIVISION</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dacca ... ..	3,125,967	150	140	25th March 1921 ...	25th May 1921 ...	453
Mymensingh ... ..	4,857,730	200	195	1st April " " " ...	1st June " " " ...	552
Faridpur ... ..	2,249,658	90	82	29th March " " " ...	31st May " " " ...	612
Bakarganj ... ..	3,531,607	180	152	24th " " " ...	2nd July " " " ...	425
<b>CHITTAGONG DIVISION</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tippera ... ..	4,143,231	200	185	28th March 1921 ...	18th June 1921 ...	535
Chittagong ... ..	2,161,730	86	76	1st April " " " ...	2nd July " " " ...	462
<b>COOCH BEHAR</b> ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cooch Behar ... ..	592,189	40	39	5th " " " ...	4th June " " " ...	317
<b>SIKKIM</b> ... ..	81,721	4	4	1st April 1921 ...	20th May 1921 ...	174

STATEMENT II.—SORTING.

PERIOD.	NUMBER OF BOXES SORTED FOR TABLE—															
	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.	XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.	XIX.	XX.	XXI.	XXII.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Up to end of April 1921	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" May	112	67	1	27	20	...	...	12	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" June	1,110	823	379	509	157	...	...	1,245	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" July	1,121	1,069	1,075	1,540	1,631	...	...	1,245	271	18	1,127	1,075	1,075	1,075	1,075	1,075
" August	628	526	284	513	371	19	8	377	1,075	18	...	1,075	1,075	1,075	1,075	1,075
" September	228	512	202	254	625	33	15	282	818	47	24	1,075	1,075	1,075	1,075	1,075
" October	9	6	100	6	...	...	...	317	120	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>	<b>3,335</b>

The average number of boxes per table sorted during the period April 1st to October 31st 1921 was 107.5.



Rs. 35,458-14-10, in all Rs. 3,02,781-9-6. This is the additional expenditure incurred by Government and the Corporation of Calcutta on account of the census operations and is comparable with the figure Rs. 3,85,771-11-0. The increase may be said to be entirely due to the increased rates of pay which had to be given to the clerks and others engaged in tabulation and compilation. The piece rates for slip copying were put at 50 per cent. above the rates of 1911, the fixed pay rates in the lowest grade were increased by something like 45 per cent. over the rates of 1911, but the rates of the better paid temporary staff were not increased to as great an extent. Deputation allowances of the few permanent clerks employed in the census offices were rather higher than before, but deputation allowances of officers were exactly the same as they had previously been. There was a considerable reduction in the cost of supervision partly because I joined the post of Superintendent a month nearer the time of the census than my predecessor, and finished and made over charge some four months nearer to the time of the census after it was finished, partly because there was on this occasion no such complication as was caused by the Repartition and partly because the check of Compilation Registers and preparation of the final tables was done in Dacca instead of in Calcutta.

When the printing of the reports and tables are paid for and all outstanding dues have been realised the census of Bengal will be found to have cost the Central Government approximately Rs. 3,80,000, or almost exactly Rs. 8 per thousand of the total population.



# STATEMENT II.—EXPENDITURE UNDER THE HEADS PRESCRIBED BY THE CENSUS COMMISSIONER ACCORDING TO THE DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNTS.

Main head.	Sub-head.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	SALARIES.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
	1. Pay of officers ... ..	16,324 3 2	21,614 8 2	16,805 10 4	57,744 5 8
	2. Deputation allowance of officers	3,030 0 0	4,570 15 5	3,311 5 0	10,912 4 5
	ESTABLISHMENT.				
	3. Superintendent's office establishment.	3,732 11 11	18,515 2 2	15,750 15 1	37,998 13 2
	4. Travelling allowance of officers ...	1,893 8 0	1,397 10 9	Nil	3,291 2 9
I.—SUPERINTENDENCE	4. (a) Travelling allowance of establishment.	143 12 3	127 15 3	77 1 6	348 15 0
	5. Contingencies—				
	(a) Office rent ... ..	Nil	Nil	Nil	...
	(b) Purchase and repair of furniture.	763 3 0	22 0 0	2 14 0	795 1 0
	(c) Stationery, including paper	12 0 0	152 7 9	31 3 3	195 11 0
	(d) Postage and telegram charges.	510 11 6	906 7 6	39 0 0	1,456 5 0
	(e) Freight ... ..	447 6 0	91 6 6	49 1 0	590 13 8
	(f) Miscellaneous ... ..	353 9 3	1,251 0 4	747 3 3	2,351 12 10
	TOTAL SUPERINTENDENCE ...	27,201 1 1	51,652 9 10	36,821 5 5	1,15,875 0 4
	DISTRICT CHARGES.				
	6. District office establishment ...	8,525 5 0	3,949 2 4	Nil	12,474 7 4
	7. Remuneration of Census Officers ...	5,464 4 10	3,032 15 4	Nil	8,517 4 2
	8. Travelling allowance ... ..	1,142 8 7	900 14 5	Nil	2,043 7 0
	9. Contingencies—				
	(a) Stationery, including paper	11,544 14 5	7 5 3	Nil	11,552 3 8
II.—ENUMERATION	(b) Postage and telegram charges.	721 3 0	Nil	Nil	721 3 0
	(c) House-numbering charges	130 0 9	4 0 0	Nil	134 0 9
	(d) Freight ... ..	559 0 0	92 9 6	Nil	651 9 8
	(e) Miscellaneous ... ..	7,218 10 3	1,776 12 9	Nil	8,995 7 0
	TOTAL ENUMERATION ...	35,305 14 10	9,783 11 7	Nil	45,089 10 5
	10. Remuneration of Census Officers	Nil	28,309 11 8	1,066 10 4	29,376 6 0
	11. Remuneration of permanent establishment.	Nil	23,859 13 1	245 0 6	24,103 15 7
	12. Remuneration of temporary establishment.	Nil	2,29,728 14 11	-71 5 3	2,29,657 9 8
	13. Travelling allowance ...	Nil	820 7 4	19 14 0	379 5 4
	14. Contingencies—				
	(a) Office rent ... ..	Nil	939 12 8	78 12 0	1,018 8 8
	(b) Purchase and repair of furniture.	3,971 14 0	3,307 10 7	-63 12 0	7,192 12 7
	(c) Stationery, including paper	20,619 0 9	877 12 9	33 1 0	21,529 14 8
	(d) Postage and telegram charges.	90 0 0	351 9 3	65 0 0	509 9 3
	(e) Freight ... ..	521 0 0	2,361 6 6	Nil	2,882 6 6
	(f) Miscellaneous ... ..	627 8 9	3,713 10 2	-119 3 2	4,357 15 2
	TOTAL ABSTRACTION AND COMPILATION.	25,829 7 6	2,94,548 12 11	+ 1,230 0 10	3,21,608 3 3
	15. Cost of stationery (including paper) supplied from Central Stores.	4,202 9 0	2,652 6 3	Nil	6,854 15 3
IV.—PRINTING AND OTHER STATIONERY CHARGES.	16. Carriage of stationery ... ..	Nil	Nil	Nil	...
	17. Printing at Government presses	4,975 13 4	764 9 0	Nil	5,743 6 4
	18. Printing at private presses	1,263 0 0	65 4 0	Nil	1,328 4 0
	19. Despatching charges ... ..	1,673 1 0	Nil	Nil	1,673 1 0
	TOTAL PRINTING AND OTHER STATIONERY CHARGES.	12,113 7 8	2,893 3 3	Nil	14,997 10 11
	GRAND TOTAL ...	85,490 4 2	3,58,858 5 7	38,051 6 3	4,32,410 2 0

\* Rupees 14,360-10-11 paid by the Calcutta Corporation on account of the census charges has been deducted from the total for 1922-23. But not from any of the separate heads.



